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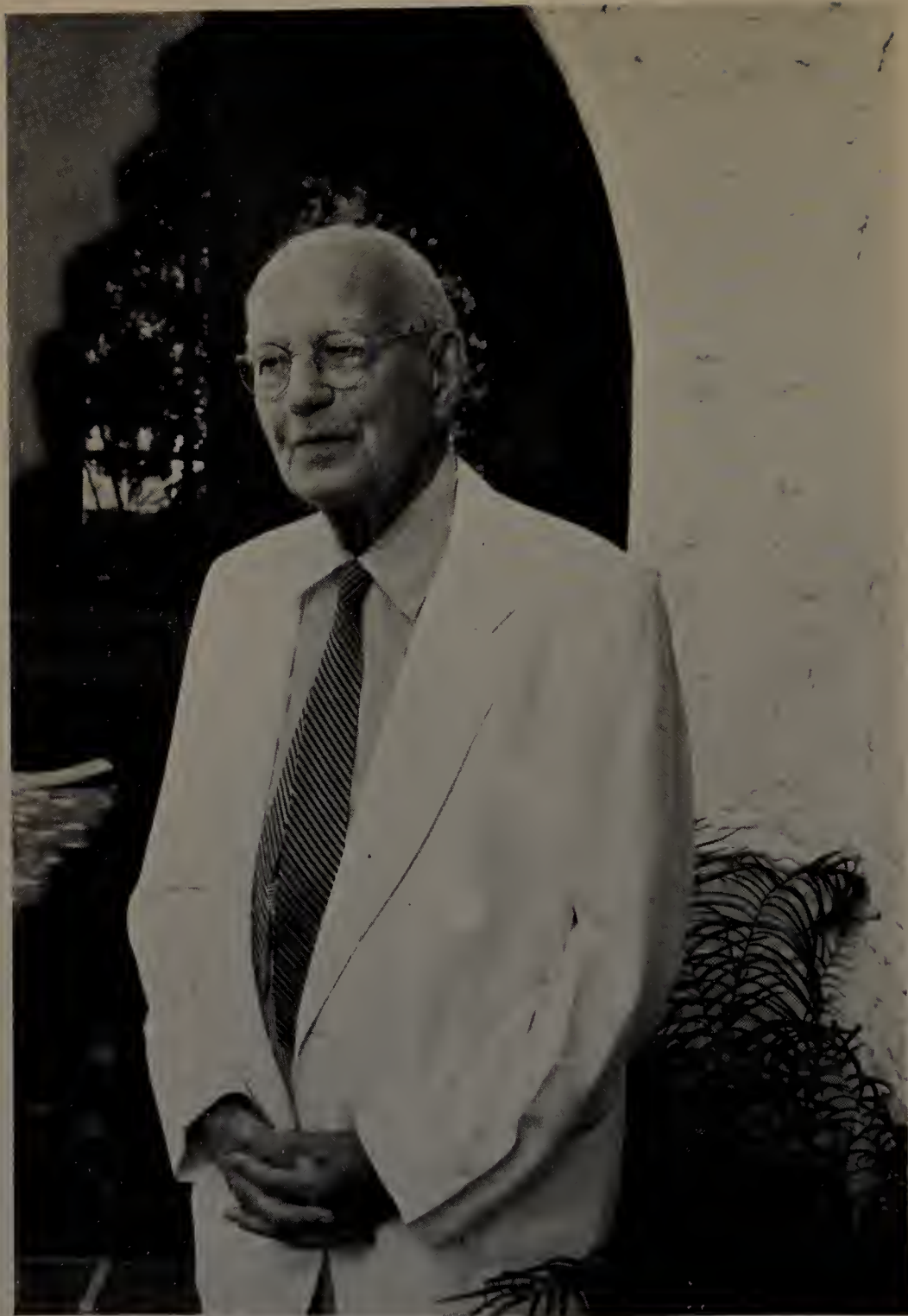
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HARVARD STUDIES IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 76



Walton Brooks McDaniel

HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 76



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WALTON BROOKS McDANIEL
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PREFATORY NOTE

The Department of the Classics affectionately dedicates this, the seventy-sixth volume of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, to its treasured alumnus and benefactor, Walton Brooks McDaniel, who to the unbounded delight of his many friends and admirers at Harvard celebrated his one-hundredth birthday on March 4, 1971. A biographical note, including a select bibliography and a record of items from the Alice Corinne McDaniel Collection published in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, suitably heads the text of this volume. The frontispiece is, by the kind permission of Mr. McDaniel's cousin, Miss Ruth Brooks, reproduced from a photograph taken in his ninety-ninth year.

The *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* are published by the authority of the President and Fellows of Harvard College on behalf of the Department of the Classics. Publication is assisted by the generosity of the Class of 1856, as well as by other gifts and bequests.

These studies are contributed chiefly by Harvard instructors and graduates, although articles by others are not excluded.

Besides his usual indebtedness to his colleagues, the editor wishes to acknowledge assistance received from Mr. Daniel K. Clift.

G. P. Goold
Editor

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WALTON BROOKS MCDANIEL

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Walton Brooks McDaniel was born on 4 March 1871, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the son of Samuel Walton and Georgiana Frances (Brooks) McDaniel. Very early in life he manifested the first symptoms of a passion for collecting (stamps, postmarks, animals both wild and tame, insects, minerals, and finally coins); the passion never left him, and at the age of 100 he is still an ardent collector and hobbyist.

He attended the Cambridge Latin School 1884-1889, and received his degrees from Harvard University: A.B. 1893, A.M. 1894, Ph.D. 1899. His dissertation, *De quibusdam hymnorum Homericorum locis corruptis coniecturae*, was later published, in abbreviated and translated form, in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. During a year of study and travel in Europe, he spent a semester at the University of Berlin, then the leader in German classical scholarship and a pioneer in the new discipline of archaeology, and also attended lectures in Paris at the Sorbonne. A few years later he studied at the University of Rome under Rodolfo Lanciani, a great authority on the topography and excavations of the ancient city, which was to become a second home to Mr. McDaniel in his prime.

Mr. McDaniel's teaching career began at Harvard as an Assistant in the Classics, 1896-1897. He was an Instructor in Greek and Latin at Harvard in 1899-1901, and at Radcliffe in 1900-1901. In 1901 he left Harvard to become Instructor in Latin at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was promoted to an Assistant Professorship in 1903 and to a full Professorship in 1909. In 1933 he suffered double pneumonia followed by influenza and asthma, and was given "one chance in a hundred to survive." A hundred is certainly his lucky number, for in his early seventies he was to report from Florida, "I still can swim readily a quarter of a mile in our tropical waters, ride a bicycle 20 to 30 miles in an afternoon, and walk half that distance or row a quarter of it without collapsing." But this was yet to come, and in 1937, when he was head of his department, ill-health compelled him to retire with the title of Emeritus Professor of the Latin Language and Literature. Subsequently he was for ten years a member of the Harvard Overseers' Committee to Visit the Department of the Classics.

In the classical field his chief interest has been the private life of the ancient Romans, its survival in modern Italy, and its relationship to the life of the Greeks. This interest was the inspiration of his many trips abroad and his wide travel in Italy. He taught and published also in the fields of Roman ethics, Latin textual criticism, Roman art, and the earliest Latin literature concerned with Christianity. Interest in the pedagogy of his subject led Mr. McDaniel to serve as Associate Editor of *Classical Weekly* (1913-1935), to teach for many years a half-course in the School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania, and to publish books and articles on the subject. A lifelong interest in medicine, superstition, and medical folklore, stimulated by contact and, in some cases, close friendship with leaders in the study of psychic phenomena (William James, Richard Hodgson, Professor Hyslop of Columbia, William Romaine Newbold, and others), led to publications on these subjects.

In addition to membership of various local and regional classical societies, he was an active member of the American Philological Association (he served as its President in 1921), the American Philosophical Society, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the Oriental Club of Philadelphia. He was elected a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1930. He served for several years on the American Council of Learned Societies, representing first the American Philological Association and later the American Philosophical Society. Nor should it be forgotten that he was one of the delegates at the foundation of the American Association of University Professors in New York.

In 1943, Mr. McDaniel presented to Harvard University the Alice Corinne McDaniel Collection of Roman antiquities, in memory of his wife, who had died in that year. He had met Alice Corinne Garlich of Saint Joseph, Missouri, when they were students together in Berlin, and they were married in 1899. He instituted the Collection "in special recognition of the fortitude and cheerfulness with which she shared in the hardships of rural travel in all parts of Italy and Sicily, as her husband's companion and supporter in his unusual pursuits." In 1944 he established a fund for further acquisitions to the Collection, and an additional sum for the building of display cases. In 1949 he established a capital fund (also dedicated to the memory of his wife) for the purchase of books for the Smyth Classical Library. Today the Alice Corinne McDaniel Collection, displayed in the Smyth Classical Library of Widener Library, consists of Mr. McDaniel's personal collection, recent acquisitions from the McDaniel Fund, the remains of a

former departmental collection, and gifts from other individuals. This diversified and extensive collection serves to illustrate Roman private life and the survival of ancient beliefs in modern Italy. In 1966 the McDaniel Collection was displayed in the entrance of Widener Library in honor of Mr. McDaniel's visit to Cambridge.

Walton Brooks McDaniel is the senior graduate of Harvard College, and one of the three senior doctoral graduates of the University. On 4 March 1971, in honor of his one-hundredth birthday, the Department of the Classics brought out a limited edition of his book, *Riding a Hobby in the Classical Lands*. This work was written in 1946 and was to have been published by a printer in business on his own account; but hard times unhappily supervened, and production never advanced beyond the first set of proofs. The book, elegantly and wittily written, recounts Mr. McDaniel's experiences as a traveler and collector in Italy at the turn of the century, and contains words of advice to the fledgling collector ("When the first collector was born into the world, the first imitator was born also") and humor on every page: the doctor, a ghost-writer in his spare time, who introduced Mr. McDaniel to ancient coins, is described as being one of "those who are hired to record anonymously the experiences of other people whose capacity for authorship happens to be unworthy of their adventures or achievements. It was the Doctor's lot to set forth in the first person the exploits of one of our most famous explorers, to rejoice silently at the great sale which his unacknowledged writings enjoyed under that hero's name, and to remain a literary ghost until Death made him a real one."

In 1950 Mr. McDaniel married Mrs. W. Herbert Brown (née Helen Celemia Stock), to whom *Riding a Hobby* is dedicated. The passion for collecting which has been so central to Mr. McDaniel's life has not faded, and the McDaniels now concentrate on palaeontology and conchology in Florida, which is rich in fossils and living shells. Mr. McDaniel continues to publish what he modestly describes as "essays and articles of a popular and ephemeral nature." He is still a prolific letter-writer, and wields the pen himself as vigorously and exuberantly as ever. In a letter acknowledging the first copy of *Riding a Hobby* he adverted upon the cover, which displays the god Mên riding a horse (a terracotta from the McDaniel Collection), and remarked, "Mên is a good likeness of me in my prime, and the crescent's wings behind his shoulders should remind my readers of the angelic virtues that have always characterized my career and personal character."

The *Editorial* prefixed to his book, and subscribed by all members of the Department, closed with words they here repeat: *Ave, vir praestan-*

tissime, qui annis et eloquentia iam ipsum Nestora exsuperasti, centenarium te gratulantes salutamus!

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LANGUAGE AND CHARACTERIZATION IN HOMER

ADAM PARRY*

1. MEANING IN THE FIXED EPITHET

THE so-called oral theory of Homeric poetry has raised serious problems for anyone concerned with critical analysis of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Of the rigorous investigations of Milman Parry, the author of the modern form of this theory, I will not speak here, and I will assume that his examination of noun-epithet formulae and his proof of the remarkable economy of these formulae are known to you. His conclusion, that only a language designed for composition in the process of recitation would show such an economy, has at the least an extremely high degree of probability; and his own and subsequent studies of living oral poetries have on the whole corroborated this conclusion. But it is worth while to state again what Milman Parry's investigations have proved: viz., that the *style* of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as the poems have come down to us, shows many features of a style originally created for oral composition. That the poems themselves, as we have them, were in fact composed in the process of improvising recitation has not been proved, and probably cannot now be proved. Such a notion must remain, for the many scholars who now hold it, a plausible speculation only.

But regardless of the question of the specific conditions under which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed, the detailed exposition of the way in which their style depends on set phrases which tend conservatively to be used whenever they can, raise serious critical problems. These problems center round the elusive and yet vital question of the *consciousness* of Homer's audience. That is, we must be prepared somehow to answer the query, of how much significance should the ideal

* This article is printed from the typescript of a lecture which the late Adam Parry delivered in London in 1969. He did not live to remove a few phrases indicative of its original form or equip the article with footnotes incorporating references and elaborating suggestions in the text, but in submitting it for publication in *HSCP* he had expressed his intention of doing so. *Editor's Note*

member of Homer's audience be aware? Homer's audience, for the purposes of this question, will include us as well as the poet's contemporaries. Do the set phrases in which the poetry so largely consists have a meaning dependent on the individual words which are their ingredients? Or does the formulaic style preclude such meaning, so that these phrases are in operation equivalent to single words? Such questions are hard to answer, but they are vital, because the answers to them will determine the entire way in which the poetry will be read; they will determine the meaning of the poetry itself.

Milman Parry's demonstration of what we might call for short the oral affinities of Homeric style does not in itself answer these questions. To them, however, Milman Parry himself and many of his successors have offered an answer: that the words within those expressions which can, by the repetition of their use, be established as set phrases, or formulae, do not bear an individual meaning. They are inseparable parts of the whole phrases, and the consciousness cannot focus on them. The question then arises, how does the phrase composed of these words differ from a phrase composed of other words, or how does it differ from a single word which could be used to paraphrase it?

In the seventh line of the *Iliad*, the poet names two men in the nominative case to be the subject of the dual verb διαστήτην in the preceding line. Line 7 reads:

Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

In what sense do the words of this line differ from the words Ἀτρεΐδης τε καὶ Ἀχιλλεύς? The obvious answer, that the actual words of line 7 form a hexameter, is trivial, because in that case a meaningless sound could have replaced the epithetic expressions. Milman Parry's answer was that they differ only by invoking the world of heroic poetry. To call Agamemnon ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν and Achilles δῖος tells us nothing about these men; it tells us only that this is epic song, that this is an imaginative world where all men are entitled to epithets of this kind. Milman Parry supports this view by pointing to the large number of heroes, some major, many minor, who are qualified by δῖος and to the smaller number, but again including minor characters, who are called ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν. Since these epithetic expressions are not used of these men alone, they cannot serve to tell us anything unique about them. If they tell us nothing unique about them, they tell us nothing about them at all, but only that we are listening to Homer, and are hence in a heroic and kingly world.

Milman Parry's argument was an appeal to experience. *δῖος* occurs ninety-one times in the *Iliad* and qualifies ten different heroes, although in the great majority of cases it is used of Achilles and Odysseus. Long before we have heard or read this word ninety-one times, he argued, we have ceased to inquire into, or even to be aware of, its meaning. Similarly we learn to assign no particular meaning to *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* long before we encounter its fifty appearances, of which forty-five are for Agamemnon, the other five, one each, to five other heroes.

There may be a danger, however, in using experience to contradict experience. It is true that a reasonable man who has read all of the *Iliad* is not going to base a critical interpretation of the poem solely or chiefly on any occurrence of a word so commonly and freely used as *δῖος*, or of an expression like *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*. He learns not to stop at these expressions and not to pay them undue attention. But he will, I think, no matter how many times he has read Homer, have some feeling on beginning the poem and coming to line 7, which grandly ends the first sentence and the invocation, that Agamemnon and Achilles are being rather well described. He will, despite the strictures of this school of modern scholarship, think a bit about *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* and *δῖος*. He will here already to some degree be aware of the contrast between the two on which so much of the quarrel depends: Agamemnon, the man of political power and the public figure, complete with much of the insecurity which an aspirant to the highest public position can possess; and Achilles, the man whose values are more purely heroic and individual, and become increasingly personal and private as the story progresses.

Of course the reader will not spell this out as he reads the beginning of the poem, as I have done. But he will be aware that the adjectives are right for each man. For Achilles, the superb individual hero, the simplest heroic adjective, *δῖος*, whether it means *godlike* or *bright*; for Agamemnon, the jealous king, the most political of heroic epithets, *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*. This impression will not be much affected by his occasionally finding *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* used of other men, of Aeneas and Anchises, and even Augeias, Euphetes, and Eumelus. This kind of experience does not require chemical purity: the impression will only be confirmed by more reading, in the course of which he will find the poet describing Agamemnon as *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* thirty-seven times, and other characters calling him this 8 times. Agamemnon is in fact the only character to be so addressed in the poem.

There is another argument, besides that from experience of repetition, to dissuade us from the awareness of the meaning of these words.

δῖος cannot be used easily of Agamemnon, nor *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* of Achilles, for metrical reasons. *δῖος* is used most often of names metrically equivalent to *Ἀχιλλεύς*: *Ὀδυσσεύς*, *Ἀγήνωρ*, *Ἐπειός* etc., and *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* is always used of names metrically equivalent to *Ἀγαμέμνων* at the end of the line: *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγχίσης* or *Εὐμηλος*, or the like. Although both Achilles and Agamemnon of course elsewhere receive different epithets, neither can ever receive the epithet used for the other man here, and given the position of the names in this line, no other epithet will do for either man. The epithets are, then, chosen for metrical convenience. If they are so chosen, the argument goes, they cannot be chosen for their meaning. Hence they cannot have meaning.

But it does follow. The epithets do indeed possess metrical convenience, and the demonstration of this does add to our knowledge of Homer. But it simply does not follow that they lack meaning. The argument is based on faulty inference. The demonstration of the metrical convenience of the epithets, together with our natural experience that they do have meaning, may lead us to admire the convergence of these phenomena: but not to deny the one in favour of the other.

It is more reasonable to ask how it comes about that the one person in the story who can, shall we say, most profitably be qualified by *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* is also one of the few persons whose names are of a metrical form which makes combination with this epithet possible. Is that merely the poet's good luck?

Two kinds of explanation seem to me possible, and both must remain speculative. If we assume that the character Agamemnon, two shorts and two longs, existed in the tradition as the powerful king and public figure before the phrase *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* was invented (because it was invented, at *some* point), then we can say that, out of a number of possibilities of epithets expressive of kingship which we naturally do not know, one was chosen which could go with *Ἀγαμέμνων*. Once it was chosen, no other was necessary. At that point a great poet could develop the character of the self-conscious ruler with the depth which we find in the *Iliad*, and when he did so the epithet *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*, enabling him to make the second half of the line out of *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων*, could stand him in good stead; although, not being a purist, he would not hesitate to use the phrase casually of a minor figure, too minor to be characterized by it, when this was convenient for him.

If on the other hand we do not assume that Agamemnon, as an epic character, something like what we see in the *Iliad*, preceded his most common epithet, then we may be led along a slightly different path of speculation. We are perhaps misled by the more romantic of archaeolo-

gists, those who show us Nestor's throne and Clytaemnestra's and Agamemnon's bathtub, into thinking that the characters of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are much older than the language used to depict them in the poems can possibly be. The Linear B tablets, to be sure, offer us an A-KI-RE-U, but one far removed from the passionate leader of the Myrmidons; and no Agamemnon at all. Could he have been developed to his present importance in the poem because his name fits so well with *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*? The possibility cannot be ruled out.

The important thing is that we see that the epithets like those in line 7 of book 1, however convenient metrically and however often repeated, can have the kind of meaning we naturally find in them, can help to define the characters and to tell the story that depends on those characters. But before we leave the line and the metrical utility of the phrases in it, something else should be pointed out. The usefulness of *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* lies in its being able to precede a name beginning with a vowel of the shape of *Ἀγαμέμνων* or *Αἰνείας* and so to form an expression completing the line after the trochaic caesura in the many cases where the first half of the line ends with a vowel — often the third singular past tense of a verb. But in 1.7, the phrase is *Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* and it fills the first half of the line. This is the only occasion in either poem on which *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* stands in the first half of the line, although *ἄναξ* alone frequently occurs in the same position in the line as here.

The poet has constructed an unusual line here, and if we stop to think we can see that the conditions are unusual. For how often would one have a line consisting of only the name of Agamemnon plus epithet and the name of another, plus epithet? But if we go a step further and ask why these conditions themselves exist, we enter new realms of the mystery of Homeric composition.

J. Russo has pointed out that the opening phrase of the *Iliad* is metrically unusual. *μῆνιν* is natural at the beginning of the line, occurring six times in the *Iliad*. But the combination of trochaic noun and amphibrachic verb belongs at the line end, as in *ἄλγε' ἔθηκε* at the end of the second line. Here the poet has made — or, if you want, inherited, in which case some other poet made — a special phrase to mark the theme of his story, a phrase remarkable in metre as well as significance, for *μῆνις*, the noun, is used of the gods and only for Achilles among men. The poet of course does not seek the unusual for its own sake; but he is sufficiently concerned with what he is saying to depart from the patterns which he usually follows to say it with the greatest effect.

The unusual structure of lines 6 and 7 shows us a similar departure from pattern. The first half of line 6, *ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα* is made up of

two set phrases both occurring in their most common position; the verb *διαστήτην* and the participle *ἐρίσαντε* with which the line ends appear to be in a normal position, though parallels are neither close nor common enough to justify our speaking of formulae. The unusual thing is line 7, where each phrase can be paralleled, but the position of *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* is special.

The poet clearly wanted an effective close to the first sentence of the poem in a line entirely devoted to the two contestants in the quarrel. He also wanted what becomes a thematic epithet for Agamemnon. He therefore prepares line 6 so as to contain the conjunction and the predicate and to lead to line 7, where to fit in Agamemnon and his epithet he makes a slight displacement of a familiar formula, and the grand resounding line leaves us looking at the two enemies, properly qualified.

Describe the process leading to line 7 in this way, and you make it sound a little like someone fiddling with written lines on a piece of paper. But this would be quite wrong. The perfection of the structure of lines 1-7, like that of so many parts of the *Iliad*, comes from Homer's having sung this part of this story over and over again. In doing so, he held to familiar patterns where he could, and varied the patterns where, as he sung, something occurred to him that would make it more effective. Each change might of course necessitate other changes. If we make the reasonable assumption that those elements which we find effective correspond to the poet's own purposes, then the epithets of line 7 were part of what he wanted in order to make the opening of the poem as strong as possible. Conceivably he — or others — had sung versions of this quarrel in which the names of the two men were mentioned differently and not with these epithets. Eventually our version evolved, a version in which the epithets do not depend merely on the blank spaces in the line in which they occur, but on the structure of the whole passage, which could have been formed as much for them as for anything else.

Among scholars who do not reject the oral theory of Homer out of hand, there have recently been a few who have questioned the rigid exclusion of meaning from the fixed epithet as it is urged in the original statement of the theory in *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère*. W. Whallon in *Yale Classical Studies* 1961 argued for a greater general relevance to character in the distinctive epithets, those reserved largely or entirely for one man, such as *πολύμητις*. Hoekstra in *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* (Amsterdam 1965) cites as an example of a formula which bears an irresistible meaning for its immediate context book 3 of the *Odyssey*, lines 352-353:

οὐ θην δὴ τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱὸς
νηὸς ἐπ' ἱκριόφιν καταλέξεται,

where the common formulary periphrasis for Telemachus, Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός, is joined to the specific words τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς in the first half of the line in such a way that one must think of the name Ὀδυσσῆος in the formula.

An example at least as striking is the use of πεπνυμένος of Antilochus in book 23 of the *Iliad*. The adjective is used, falling between the masculine caesura and the bucolic diaeresis, of Antenor and Meriones twice each in the *Iliad*, and of Eurypylus, Polydamas, and Antilochus once each, again in the same position. In the *Odyssey* it is of course the most common epithet of Telemachus, occurring some 45 times. Whallon has some comments on its distinctive use in the *Odyssey*. In *Iliad* 23 Antilochus is carried away by youthful desire for victory in the horse race, and forces Menelaus to hold back his horses, depriving him of his prize. In lines 570–585, Menelaus makes a furious speech of remonstrance to Antilochus, beginning:

Ἀντίλοχε, πρόσθεν πεπνυμένε, ποῖον ἔρεξας.

where the distinct statement of πρόσθεν πεπνυμένε cannot be in doubt. In reply, Antilochus apologizes for his youthful indiscretion, and yields the prize to Menelaus. That speech is introduced by —

τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἀντίλοχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦῤῥα.

where it is again beyond doubt that, despite the entirely formulary position of the adjective, we are being told that Antilochus is showing himself to be a sensible man after all.

The original statement in *L'Épithète traditionnelle* of the theory of the fixed phrase made a rigid distinction between the fixed and the particularized epithet, the former having never a distinct meaning, but always fusing with its noun into a single idea, the latter always embodying a distinct predication. πολύτροπος occurs twice in the *Odyssey*, in the same position after the trochaic caesura, in the first line of the poem, and in 10.330, where Circe says:

ἦ σύ γ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος, ὃν τέ μοι αἰεὶ
φάσκειν ἐλεύσεσθαι χρυσόραπις ἀργειφόντης,

recognizing him as the hero Hermes had said would come and vanquish her. This word, πολύτροπος, because it occurs rarely and has a clearly formulary equivalent in διήφιλος, is a particularized epithet, and its full

meaning must be felt. *πολιπόρθιον* on the other hand in 9.504, being a fairly common epithet of both Odysseus and Achilles, and occurring several times with the names of minor heroes, must be, according to Milman Parry, entirely ornamental. *πολιπόρθιον* in fact is made an example of the impossibility of translating the fixed epithet adequately into a modern language. Odysseus heroically, if indiscreetly, identifying himself to the Cyclops as his ship pulls away, says: "Cyclops, if any mortal man asks you about the sorry blinding of your eye, say that it was Odysseus *πολιπόρθιος* who blinded you, Laertes' son, who has his home in Ithaca":

φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πολιπόρθιον ἐξαλαῶσαι,
νιὸν Λαέρτew, Ἰθάκῃ ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ἔχοντα.

The difficulty in translation, it is said in *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, is to render *πολιπόρθιον* so as not to lead the reader to think of its meaning, and at the same time to render the two phrases of the following line so that their statements will be fully appreciated. But if we once abandon the rigid dichotomy between fixed and particularized epithets, the difficulty vanishes. It is hard to think of an epithet, in fact, which serves better to reveal the nonentity of the cave suddenly as one of the greatest heroes of the epic tradition. Moreover, the word is used in an entirely unusual position here, so much so that the poet has recourse to the unusual form *πολιπόρθιον* instead of *πολιπόρθον*. *μεγαθυμόν*, before the bucolic diaeresis, or the unattested **μεγαθύμιον* (no odder than *καταθύμιος*), might conceivably have been used. What is certain is that the poet actually used, in an unusual form and an unusual place in the line, an adjective which the most assiduous reader today, and surely the most practiced member of Homer's audience, would need considerable special pleading *not* to recognize as a word which adds much to the scene and to the characterization of the hero. The two phrases in the next line are for that matter attested formulae, and in positions more usual than that of *πολιπόρθιον*. One might, if one wanted to run Milman Parry's argument into the ground, claim that they too mean no more than "Odysseus."

This is, of course, not to deny some distinction between the fixed and the particularized adjective. The distinction exists, and those adjectives which the evidence allows us to classify as fixed are often used in such a way that they add little to the meaning other than, as Milman Parry so well said, to remind us of the heroic nature of the world of epic poetry. But the distinction is not rigid, and there is no

absolute line of demarcation. *πολύτροπος* in *Odyssey* 1.1 and 10.330 certainly has appropriate meaning but, as its two uses in the same part of the line indicate, it conforms to a pattern, one of the myriad patterns that enable the poets of the oral tradition to improvise their wondrous song. If we dwell on its meaning too much, in the two places where it occurs, we may there too lose the sense of that eminent rapidity of Homeric poetry which Matthew Arnold defined and which was for Milman Parry the starting-point of his momentous researches into Homeric style.

* * *

2. APOSTROPHE

Sixteen times in the *Iliad* and fifteen times in the *Odyssey*, the poet addresses a character directly. An older criticism saw this as a deliberate poetic figure, designed to produce interest by variation and to focus attention on a particular person. The current explanation is that these direct addresses are not to be distinguished in meaning from third-person statements, since they are only ways of accommodating names of awkward metrical shape into standard formulaary patterns.

Neither view is wholly satisfactory. Against the older and naive view are two facts. First there is the occurrence of apostrophe with a character of as little importance as Melanippus, son of Hicetaon, in *Iliad* 15.582:

ὥς ἐπὶ σοί, Μελάνιππε, θόρ' Ἀντίλοχος μενεχάρμης

Secondly, all fifteen occurrences in the *Odyssey* are in the same formula for speech, used of Eumaeus: — υ υ — υ υ — *προσέφησ Εὐμαιε συβῶτα*, usually (13 times) in the line *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφησ Εὐμαιε συβῶτα*. This formula is used so often for Eumaeus that it comes to seem a reflex. Hence even Ameis in 1873 suggested that metrical as well as emotional reasons played a part in the choice of apostrophe.

The modern and technical explanation does not entirely satisfy either. The three characters of whom apostrophe is used with some frequency, Menelaus, Patroclus, and Eumaeus are all in other ways treated with particular concern by the poet; are represented as unusually sensitive and worthy of the audience's sympathy. Is this mere coincidence?

The notion of the imperious necessity of metre, as an explanation of an unusual mode of expression in Homer, is shakier than it has been

made to appear. Often, it is true, we are unable to find another noun-epithet or other formulaary phrase to offer as an alternative to the one which appears in the poem. But this does not mean that the resources of the epic tradition made any alternative impossible. For example, the first of the six apostrophes to Patroclus in *Iliad* 16 reads:

τὸν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφη, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ.

Could the poet have said, e.g.

*Πάτροκλος δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων ἡμείβετο μύθῳ?

Here it may be pointed out that the position of βαρὺ στενάχων around the main caesura is not attested in Homer and is *in that sense* "impossible." Or could the poet have sung:

*τὸν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφη Πάτροκλος ἀμύμων?

*Πάτροκλος ἀμύμων, suggested as a hypothetical nominative formula by J. D. Hainsworth, does not occur, though we know of no specific reason why not.

But the fact that we cannot in these or other cases exhibit an attested alternative does not mean that the tradition, or Homer, could not have provided one. It is time we stopped saying that the poet must have said a thing in this way because no other way existed for him to say it. We do not know what existed, either potentially or actually.

The case of apostrophe must be more complex than either the traditional or the modern view suggests. Let us consider the three characters with whom apostrophe is especially associated. Before book 16, Patroclus plays a part in books 1, 9, 11, and 15, being mentioned by name or patronym in those books twenty-one times. Apostrophe, however, is used for him only in book 16, where it occurs six times, always at significant points of the action. The special place Patroclus occupies in the organization of the poem scarcely needs comment. This place, in our poem, depends on his character. He is the sweetest and most compassionate of the Homeric warriors. We see this most clearly in the moving lament for him spoken by Briseis in 19.282-300, where she says of him: "When Achilles slew my husband, you would not let me cry. You promised to make me Achilles' wedded wife, to bring me back to Phthia, and to give me a marriage feast there, among the Myrmidons. And so now with all my heart I weep for your death, for you were always sweet" — τῷ σ' ἄμοτον κλαίω τεθνηότα μείλιχον αἰεί. μείλιχον is in this sense a word reserved for Patroclus in the *Iliad*.

Elsewhere it is used almost entirely to mean "gentle words" as opposed to "harsh" (10 times), the other two occurrences being ironic — "he was no gentle fighter in battle." Only Patroclus as a man is *μείλιχος*, and the distinctive word defines that quality in him which ensures his death and with it the tragic plot of the poem.

Menelaus also signals this quality when in 17.669 he calls for help in protecting the body of Patroclus: "Ajax, you and your brother, and Meriones, let us remember the goodness of unhappy Patroclus; he was able to be sweet (*μείλιχος*) to everyone, while he was alive; now death and doom have found him." The word I translate as "goodness" is *ἐννής*. Of its five occurrences in the *Iliad*, four refer to Patroclus. The single exception is in 23.648 where the egotistical Nestor speaks of himself, and here the adjective occurs immediately after Nestor has himself spoken of Patroclus, so that some process of association appears likely.

To Patroclus is attributed in the poem a distinct character: kind, easily moved to pity, remarkably free from the sort of heroic self-assertion which many, and recently Professor Adkins, have sought to define for us. This character is manifested in the poem not only by his actions, but also by a distinct vocabulary.

The idle genetic speculations of earlier years did not fail to suggest that Homer might have invented the person of Patroclus altogether. That Patroclus first appears in the poem at 1.307, described casually as "the son of Menoetius," is enough to show that the audience was expected to know who he was. But the attempt to distinguish between Homer and the tradition will not in any case add much to our understanding of the poem. What is clear is that the character and function of Patroclus in the poem *as we have it* have been elaborated with great fineness and consistency.

Patroclus is unimportant in book 1. The single brief mention in 1.307, "Achilles went off to his tent with the son of Menoetius and his comrades," merely looks forward to his later significance. His closeness to Achilles is made more evident in book 9 — he is listening to Achilles singing the glories of heroes when the Embassy arrives; but here too he plays no central part. It is in book 11 that he becomes essential. Achilles sends him out to report on the condition of the Greeks — the one man who has too much of the milk of human kindness to tolerate the effects of Achilles' revenge on Agamemnon and the Greeks. When in Nestor's tent Patroclus ascertains that the wounded man of whom Achilles had caught a glimpse is indeed Machaon, his scouting mission is accomplished. But when Nestor makes him sit down and listen to the sad tale

of the Greeks, and incidentally to the longest of Nestor's tales of his own glorious past, Patroclus cannot resist, although he tries. And his encounter, as he finally leaves, with the wounded Eurypylus, neatly saved by the poet till the end of book 11, completes the effect of Nestor's words on him. Now he *must*, as he tells Eurypylus in book 15, persuade Achilles to help the Greeks.

He must do this, although he knows that he is disobeying Achilles, and that Achilles will be angry with him. He must because his love for Achilles is matched by his love for all his Greek comrades-in-arms. The tragic story, that is, is directly dependent on the precise character of Patroclus as Homer has developed it in the poem. The man who takes time out from the errand on which Achilles has sent him, first to listen to Nestor's garrulous and devious tale, and then to care for Eurypylus in the latter's tent, "sitting by him and entertaining him with stories," is the same, and the only, man who in book 16 could make so passionate an appeal to Achilles, blaming him precisely for the lack of that human concern which is so distinctly a mark of his own character — "I see it now: Peleus was not your father, Thetis not your mother: the grey sea gave you birth, and the sharp rocks, because your heart is empty of kindness": . . . ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής. ἀπηνής is the contrary in meaning, and probably in etymology, of ἐνήης. Patroclus is in short the only kind of man who could bring about the plot of the *Iliad* as we have it.

ἦθος ἀνθρώπων δαίμων. The ἦθος of Patroclus is δαίμων to Achilles and Hector as well as to himself. That character is the sum of many precise touches, touches of words as well as of action, within the poem. And the person we extrapolate or infer from these touches is the one whom the poet six times addresses directly in the course of book 16.

The statement of Milman Parry concerning apostrophe, which subsequent scholars have followed in finding for all examples of it only a metrical purpose, is in fact limited to the speech formulae:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — προσέφησ Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ.

These occur three times, half of the apostrophes in book 16. Each is emotionally qualified, i.e. has a special, though still formulary, participle in the first half of the line:

16.20 τὸν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφησ, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ.

16.744 τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφησ, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ.

16.843 τὸν δ' ὀλιγοδρανέων προσέφησ, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ.

The other three apostrophes, however, are more extended. The first, line 584, comes after a simile comparing Patroclus' rush upon the Trojans to the diving attack of a hawk:

ὥς ἰθὺς Λυκίων, Πατρόκλεες ἵπποκέλευθε,
ἔσσυο καὶ Τρώων, κεχόλωσο δὲ κῆρ ἑτάροιο,

The vocative is picked up by two second-person verbs in the following line. The syntax of the vocative line is not therefore a mere equivalent of a third-person statement.

The second extended apostrophe is preceded by a line with a second-person verb. It is the catalogue of Trojans slain by Patroclus just before his encounter with Apollo (16.692-693):

Ἐνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάριξας,
Πατρόκλεις, ὅτε δὴ σε θεοὶ θάνατόνδε κάλεσσαν.

So that the poet was aware of the apostrophe before the line containing the vocative.

Milman Parry says of the three speech formulae ending in *Πατρόκλεες ἵππευ* that *Πατρόκλεες* is an artificial form chosen because no nominative form was available after the formula which runs from the beginning of the line to the hephthemimeral caesura and ends in *προσέφη*. This was a trifle thoughtless, because it goes against Parry's own correct principles to label one recurrent form in the *Kunstsprache* "artificial" in relation to other forms. If, at the line ending, we assume that, e.g. **Πάτροκλος ἀμύμων* was for unknown reasons impossible, Milman Parry may have been right *within the limits of this particular formulaary pattern*. But where the vocative of the third declension form begins the line, as in 693, the second of the three extended apostrophes, *Πατρόκλεις, ὅτε δὴ σε θεοὶ θάνατόνδε κάλεσσαν*, the choice of the vocative, as opposed to the nominative, was not forced, and we should not have daggered the text if, after a third-person *ἐξενάριξας*, we had found **Πατροκλῆς* nominative, although this form does not in fact occur elsewhere.

The third extended apostrophe, lines 787-789, contains the second-person pronoun twice:

ἐνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε, φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή·
ἦντετο γάρ τοι Φοῖβος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὕσμινῃ

Only after the strong pause in the third line does the poet return to the third person:

ὁ μὲν τὸν ἶόντα κατὰ κλόνον οὐκ ἐνόησεν·

These lines occur at the end of an elaborate climactic passage in which two of the poet's crescendo devices are used at once. First the time-of-day crescendo: "As long as Helios bestrode the middle heaven, / So long did fly spears on both sides, and the people fell, / But when Helios moved on to the unyoking of oxen / Then. . . ." And then the three + one crescendo: "Patroclus hurled himself at the Trojans with deadly purpose? Thrice then he rushed at them, equal to rapid Ares / Shrieking horribly, and thrice nine men he killed; / But when at last the fourth time he flung himself like a god / — Then, for you, Patroclus, appeared the end of life. . . ."

The crisis of the action of the whole book is marked by the sequence of these crescendos, and by the following apostrophe. The words of the apostrophe

ἔνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε, φάνη βίοτοιο τελευτή·

are perfectly formulaic and within the tradition; as we can see from 7.104, of Menelaus: ἔνθα κέ τοι, Μενέλαε, φάνη βίοτοιο τελευτή. Its choice here, rather than some different way of resolving the crescendo, is vital to the effect of the passage.

The three extended apostrophes of Patroclus are elaborated, by second-person pronouns and verbs, beyond the vocative and beyond the line in which the vocative occurs. They appear to mark significant moments in the action, as we saw in examining the last of them —

ἔνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε . . .

They are chosen to mark the particular pathos of Patroclus' death, a pathos which is part of his character in the poem.

What of the speech formulae? They are in themselves more apparently formulaic, less significant, in that they are confined to a single line, and represent a minimal variation in the most common line-formula in the whole poem. But (1) they occur only in book 16; (2) they occur in conjunction with the more striking apostrophes which we have been discussing; (3) they are emotional variants of the basic line-formula, e.g. τὸν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφη, Πατρόκλεες ἵππευ· as opposed to τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Πατρόκλεες ἵππευ; and (4) two *at least* occur at moments of special significance: one as Patroclus answers Achilles in the conversation at the beginning of book 16, the other to introduce Patroclus' last words to Hector at the end of the book. Only by entirely disregarding the context can these apostrophes be regarded as full equivalents, technically determined, of third-person formulae. They are different formulae, formulae of more emotional

content than the third-person formula which we find in 11.837: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός, and the poet of the *Iliad* has used all six apostrophes to particular effect to help describe the glory and death of a hero whose precise character has largely motivated, and will continue to motivate, the action of the poem.

The case of Menelaus is a little less clear. Of the six apostrophes made to him, all contain the second-person pronoun as well as one or more second-person verbs; some appear more than others to mark significant moments in his career in the poem.

In book 4, after Pandarus, persuaded by Athena, has shot his treacherous arrow, the poet turns to Menelaus (127-129):

οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο
ἀθάνατοι, πρώτη δὲ Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἀγελείη,
ἧ τοι πρόσθε σταῖσα βέλος ἔχεπυκὲς ἄμυνεν.

If *τοι* is right — some manuscripts have *οἱ* — the apostrophe continues into the third line.

It is a crucial moment in the story of the poem. The shooting of Menelaus means the end of any possibility that the war between the Trojans and the Greeks can be settled by agreement. Morally, it puts the Trojans once and for all in the wrong. Representatives of both sides, Antenor and Diomedes, as Lesky points out, recognize this.

The moral basis of the plot is not the most important element in the poem that ends with Priam and Achilles lamenting together the bitterness of life, and Achilles saying, "Nor has my father me to care for him in his old age; instead I sit here in Troy, making trouble for you and your children." Nevertheless it is there, and Menelaus is for this element the central character. It is he who has been wronged, he who has most suffered. If things are to be made in any sense right, they must be made right for him. Alone of the Greeks, even including his brother, Menelaus has a cause for which he is fighting other than *τιμή*. He is asserting his rights, recovering his due. And the gods, especially Hera and Athena, who are clearly going to have their way, are on his side. It is ironic then that, here in book 4, Athena must make him victim of Pandarus' arrow in order to achieve her purpose of not letting the war end easily for Troy. Menelaus is the last man to be in this way forgotten by the gods. They must after all protect him; he must live to regain his loss, since all this is being done for him. Hence the poet turns our full attention on him now at this crucial point, on him and the goddess who has not after all abandoned him — οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο.

The whole question of the outcome of the war arises again in book 7 when Hector offers to stand in single combat against one of the Greeks. Achilles is not there, and no one of the Greeks feels like answering the challenge: "They were ashamed to say no, but afraid to say yes," the poet tells us. Is Hector really superior to the Greeks? How can they, admitting to this, ever hope to take Troy? Such questions are in the air, when Menelaus in great bitterness rises to meet the challenge. The Greeks cannot, he sternly feels, accept this shame; indeed he himself will do battle with Hector.

Of such a battle the outcome could not be in doubt. And with Menelaus dead, the whole point of the war is lost. Again the larger dimensions of the story are evident when the poet uses for Menelaus the formula which he later uses so movingly for Patroclus:

ἐνθα κέ τοι, Μενέλαε, φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή.

One of the consistent features of Menelaus' character, evolving naturally from the story, is this particular concern of the gods, and specifically of Hera and Athena, for him. Hera, in 5.715, seeing the Trojans get the upper hand, says to Athena, ἡ ῥ' ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν Μενελάω, as if their whole action were due to a promise to him alone. We might note, however, following some of the discussion in Reinhardt's excellent article on the Judgment of Paris, that the whole story of the mythical events leading to the Trojan War, while it is essential for the audience to have it somewhere in mind, is largely kept in the background of the *Iliad*. The poet, that is, is more concerned, in the actual narrative, with the character of Menelaus, and also of Helen and Paris, than he is with the folk-tale itself, and with Menelaus as a counter in this folk-tale. The dearness of Menelaus to the gods becomes a part of this characterization in the poem. The use of apostrophe for him aids that characterization by making the audiences especially concerned, just as the use of apostrophe with Patroclus is vitally connected with Patroclus' character and with the special concern felt for him by his comrades-in-arms.

Of the four remaining instances of apostrophe to Menelaus, one occurs in book 13, two in 17, and one in 23. Before we consider them, let us look at some of the other consistent features of Menelaus' character in the *Iliad*. Like Patroclus, Menelaus does not fit what may be thought the standard picture of the Homeric hero, because he shows no concern for τιμή or self-assertion of the usual hero type. His concern is moral, even in a slightly stuffy way. He wants to regain his rights, specifically Helen and the possessions stolen with her. He is neither an

outstanding warrior — *μαλθακὸς ἀχμητής*, Apollo calls him in book 17, and Agamemnon's terror in book 7 when Menelaus offers to meet Hector's challenge, confirms this; nor a good counsellor: Antenor in book 3 tactfully prefaces his admiration of Odysseus' speaking powers by saying that Menelaus of course spoke briefly but always to the point; and Agamemnon in book 11 says to Nestor that if Menelaus seems at times unhelpful, it is not out of laziness, but because he waits for directions from his brother. Already in the Catalogue, here at least consistent with the rest of the poem, Menelaus is described as keeping his contingent next to that of Agamemnon, and moving among his men *ῆσι προθυμήσει πεποιθώς*. He has more zeal than true valour, and the poet continues to say that he was determined in his spirit to get revenge for the pain of Helen's theft:

*μάλιστα δὲ ἔετο θυμῷ
τείσασθαι Ἑλένης ὀργήματά τε στονάχας τε.*

Two other characteristics: like Patroclus, Menelaus has a soft streak. In book 6, in a scene meant to contrast with the following meeting of Glaucus and Diomedes, Menelaus overcomes an enemy who begs him for mercy, promising ransom if Menelaus will spare him. "He persuaded Menelaus' heart within him" — Menelaus is always being persuaded — until brutal Agamemnon arrives and scolds his brother, saying "come along, Menelaus, why do you care so much for these men" — *τίγῃ δὲ σὺ κήδεαι οὔτως ἀνδρῶν* — and urges the ruthless slaughter of all Trojans, even the unborn child in the mother's womb.

Menelaus is an object of *κῆδος* to the gods and even to the unfeeling Agamemnon — although here it is uncertain how much Agamemnon's worries are due to his fear that without Menelaus the expedition might collapse; and he is especially prone to feeling concern for others. *ἀνὰ δὲ σχέος κηδόμενός περ* Agamemnon says to him in book 7 to dissuade him from presuming to fight Hector.

Unlike his brother, Menelaus feels a concern for those who are fighting on his behalf, a concern which he expresses in book 3 and which motivates his offer to fight Hector in book 7. His moment of glory comes appropriately in 17, the book which is the elaborate expansion of the theme of fighting for the body of a slain comrade. Menelaus stands over Patroclus' body like a mother-cow over a calf, risks his life, and wins heroic glory in an unwonted way in his desire to do the right thing by the fallen hero who was in so many ways the Greek leader most like himself. And it is Menelaus who along with Briseis gives the most important characterization of Patroclus.

Finally — the more stuffy side of Menelaus — he is unusually conscious of himself as a middle-aged man. This feature of his character is connected with his great susceptibility to moral outrage. In book 3 he demands that Priam come to witness the truce, because his sons are arrogant and untrustworthy — and if it is left up to them, the oaths may be violated. Then he generalizes: the minds of young men are capricious and unsound; an older man is needed to make sure things are done properly. In book 15, Menelaus with a trace of condescension urges on Antilochus, saying that he is the youngest of the Achaeans and also the swiftest and bravest — where the sense is clearly: “You are a good warrior, although you are so young.” In book 23, this difference of generations becomes the keynote of the whole scene of the horse race. Nestor has persuaded Antilochus that although he is so young, he can win the race, if he plays it right. Menelaus feels confident of beating Antilochus because the latter’s horses *lack youth*. When the racers approach the finish line, Idomeneus recognizes the front-runner first, and is abused by the lesser Ajax, who says, “Look, how can you possibly see at such a distance: you are hardly the youngest of the Achaeans.” When Antilochus apologizes to Menelaus after having cheated him of his prize, he himself speaks of the thoughtlessness of the young:

κραιπνότερος μὲν γάρ τε νόος, λεπτή δέ τε μῆτις.

And in accepting his apology, and the prize, Menelaus says that he had never thought Antilochus foolish or hot-headed before; but on this occasion his youth got the better of his sense: *νῦν αἶτε νόον νίκησε νεοίη*.

Bearing in mind this fine and consistent characterization, let us return quickly to the four apostrophes to Menelaus that we have not yet discussed. I pass for the moment over the first of these, in book 13. The next two appear in 17, the first after a simile comparing Menelaus to an eagle at the point when he is looking for Antilochus in order to tell him to bear the news of Patroclus’ death to Achilles: “So then Menelaus, ward of Zeus, did your sharp eyes / Rove every which way about the multitude of your comrades” (679–680):

ὥς τότε σοί, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὅσσε φαεινῶ
πάντοσε δινείσθην πολέων κατὰ ἔθνος ἐταίρων.

And the second when Menelaus, having to choose between two loyalties, leaves off helping the Pylians and Antilochus and returns to protect the body of Patroclus: “Nor did your spirit, Menelaus ward of Zeus, choose longer to fight with these embattled comrades-in-arms. . . .” (702–703):

οὐδ' ἄρα σοί, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ἦθελε θυμὸς
 τειρομένοις ἐτάροισιν ἀμυνέμεν. . . .

These two apostrophes come in book 17, after the book in which six apostrophes are used so powerfully for Patroclus. They both occur at moments where Menelaus' loyalty to and concern for his comrades are especially at issue; and each of them involves his relation to both Patroclus and to Achilles.

Menelaus' last apostrophe appears in the scene of the horse race with Antilochus which I discussed above, and specifically at the point when Menelaus accepts Antilochus' apology, and there is a neat resolution of his essential magnanimity and his hostility to the younger generation. Again there is a simile: his spirit is softened like dew upon the growing corn, when the fields spring up in their greenness — "so, Menelaus, was softened the spirit within you" (23.600):

ὥς ἄρα σοί, Μενέλαε, μετὰ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη.

All these apostrophes appear in scenes which especially reveal aspects of Menelaus' character that the poet elsewhere is at pains to throw into relief; and they occur in connexion with those persons, Patroclus and Achilles, whose relationship with Menelaus again throws light on his character. Did the poet carefully plan out these subtle details of the poem's architecture? Not exactly, we may guess. Rather he had developed, over the years in which he had sung countless versions of these stories, a precise conception of Menelaus' character and his relation to other characters which made these details, including the apostrophes, fall into place.

Finally, book 13, line 603. At a not very notable moment in the longest day's fighting, Menelaus meets an enemy who is a very obscure character indeed: "Peisander came up to glorious Menelaus. A fell doom led him to his death, to be vanquished by you, Menelaus, in bitter combat":

σοί, Μενέλαε, δαμῆναι ἐν αἰνῇ δῆϊοτήτι.

Here no special reason for the apostrophe irresistibly commends itself to us. It may be that the poet wanted no more than a variation from the *κόρος* of battle. Some odd features of the scene, however, may lead us to a speculative conclusion. Peisander is abruptly introduced, without patronym, without description, without even being defined as a Trojan. The narrative of the fight between the two men, however, is long and elaborate. After it, at 628ff, Menelaus makes a remarkable

speech, especially remarkable in that we expect it so little. He rages against all the Trojans, calling them filthy bitches, blaming them for disregarding the wrath — the *μῆνις* — of Zeus, god of hospitality. They took his wife and his goods from him when they were her guests. Then he rises to a more general pitch: the Trojans are men of *ὑβρις*; they never weary of war. Why, men weary of all things, of sleep, of love, of sweet singing, of the beautiful dance —

*πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστί, καὶ ὕπνου καὶ φιλότῃτος
μολπῆς τε γλυκερῆς καὶ ἀμύμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο —*

but the Trojans are never tired of battle.

Why does the poet develop a scene where Menelaus is made so rhetorically and so beautifully to express his resentment against the Trojans, when he is only killing a character of singular obscurity? In book 11.122ff, Agamemnon kills two sons of Antimachus, and in this scene we learn that Antimachus had accepted a bribe from Paris to oppose in council the return of Helen before the war, and that when Menelaus and Odysseus came on an embassy to Troy to seek for her return, this same Antimachus had urged the Trojans not to allow their safe return, but to kill them both. The sons of this reprehensible character are named Hippolochus and Peisander. Now if the scene in book 13, where Menelaus receives an apostrophe, kills an unidentified Peisander, and makes a striking speech of moral outrage, had been earlier developed by the poet as a scene in which Menelaus kills Peisander, the son of Antimachus, we could better understand the elaboration. But in book 13, when he has Menelaus fighting, the poet remembers that he has already had Peisander, son of Antimachus, and his brother killed by Agamemnon. He does not want to make the mistake he actually makes in the case of *Πυλαιμένης* the Paphlagonian, of bringing a slain warrior back to life in a later part of the poem. He also wants the scene itself. So he puts in Peisander, but does not identify him, and then lets the scene follow as we have it.

This may be what happened, but it must remain speculative. In any case, the apostrophe in 13.603 occurs in a scene especially revelatory of Menelaus' character, as do Menelaus' five other apostrophes, though these are not used in the closely controlled crescendo of pathos that we find in book 16 in the case of Patroclus.

Of the character of Eumaeus, and its relation to the repeated second-person speech formulae used for him, there is less to say. The fact that the same second-person introductory phrase is used over and again for all sorts of speeches of Eumaeus makes the device, as I said earlier,

seem little more than a reflex; and perhaps here we have the point where too much examination of detail may distract us from the poetry rather than help us to understand it. Nonetheless, it should be clearly noted that Eumaeus, the only character to be apostrophized in the *Odyssey*, is in many ways remarkably like Menelaus and Patroclus. He is altruistic, loyal, sensitive, vulnerable. And it is plausible that the length at which his character is developed, especially in books 14 and 15, is due to the poet of the *Odyssey* rather than to the tradition, since this elaborate development is not strictly necessary to the fundamental plot of the poem. It is of course a valuable part of our *Odyssey*, inasmuch as Eumaeus becomes the type of the loyalty which Odysseus' good kingship in Ithaca has won from those worthy of appreciating it.

What is interesting in the treatment of apostrophe in our version is the way in which the poet settles on the second-person formula. It is used in 14.55, the first time Eumaeus is mentioned by name. But the poem then employs a third-person alternative in 14.121:

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα συβώτης, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν·

returns to the second person in 165, and adopts a different third-person alternative in 401: τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε δῖος ὕφορβός: The second half of this line, we note, is an exact replacement for the second-person line-ending προσέφησ' Εὐμαίε συβῶτα. But if we had not found it in the text, it would have been possible to argue, using the faulty reasoning to which I objected earlier, that no such third-person formula was possible.

Speeches of Eumaeus are then introduced fourteen times more in the poem, and every one by the second-person formula. Clearly the poet simplified his choice, and in this direction because the apostrophe, however mildly it is felt, was appropriate to the sense of Eumaeus' character, as distinct from that of the other loyal servants, developed less fully, like Philoetius, which he wished to impose on the audience. The individual occurrences of the formula do not, as in the cases of Menelaus and Patroclus in the *Iliad*, mark emotion special to the scene; but they derive from, and help to communicate, a special sense of the character in general, so that here too, however much the apostrophe becomes a reflex, it blinds us to the poetry to argue that we have in these expressions no more than words meaning: "Eumaeus replied."

The degree of the audience's consciousness varies in the cases of all the characters of whom apostrophe is used. But whenever it is used, it bears some meaning, just as there is some meaning in the most fixed of fixed epithets. That these words and these devices should so neatly fill the exigencies of metre, that they should become sufficiently natural and even ritualistic not to slow down the rapidity of the epic story, and that they should have at the same time a meaning which adds to the complex characterization of the poems, is part of the genius of Homeric poetry. Such a convergence of values is analogous to what we find in all poetry, where an external form — metre or rhyme — preexisting the individual poem and not varying with it, coexists with an internal form — the words and what they say — so that both are felt to be right.

It ought not to surprise us, though it has almost come to seem surprising, that this should be so in Homer. An older view of the poems, which saw them more or less entirely as the creation of a single man, was unable to account for the elaborate system of formulae, with their extension and their economy. The brilliant work of Milman Parry and that of many of his successors, which pointed this out, made the unreasonable assumption of a sort of monolithic tradition, a tradition allowing only those forms of expression that we actually find in the poems. The tradition must actually have been far more complex and far more flexible. It certainly was if the evidence of Serbocroatian poetry offers any useful analogy. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that we have, with their splendid coincidence of meaning and form, were the result of generations of selections from this fluid tradition, and of the long years over which Homer himself perfected his songs.

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THE RHYTHM OF HESIOD'S *WORKS AND DAYS*

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IN this paper* I propose to encourage the idea that Hesiod's *Works and Days* proceeds consistently and smoothly and, insofar as it can be said of poetry of this period,¹ the poem constitutes a discrete whole. Furthermore, I would argue that the much-rejected and condemned final passage, the list of lucky and unlucky days, is in the poem to restate and refine certain notions first developed earlier on. It is thus in its place by design.

The general critical position toward Hesiod's *Works and Days* is that the poem clumsily attempts to develop an idea, that this attempt is in part marred by the poet's incomplete control of his materials so that he introduces elements completely foreign to his main idea. The apology for this has generally been the observation that Hesiod was an early intellectual who was constrained to use poetry because the prose medium was not at hand.² Had there been a developed prose, goes the argument, he would certainly have used that.

If, however, one accepts the nature of the poem's constituents and the manner of progression from one to the next and also their combination, a coherent reading of the poem very naturally results.

One ought first take issue with the notion that Hesiod composed in dactylic hexameters for want of anything better, specifically a cool and precise philosophic prose. As he himself proclaims, he is a singer, an *ἀοιδός*. The medium of poetry shaped him as surely as he presumably worked at shaping it; his ideas therefore in part derive from the exigencies of his medium. In fact, we had best rid ourselves of the notion of Hesiod's *ideas*; it becomes too easy to imagine the intellectual

* This article owes a great deal to the help of my former student, Barbara K. Peick.

¹ Cf. B. A. von Gronigen, *La Composition littéraire archaïque grecque* (Amsterdam 1958), 29ff (although the entire work returns frequently to this question).

² See, e.g., Jaeger, *Paideia* I (New York 1945) 60f; H. J. Rose *Handbook of Greek Literature* (London 1948³), 58: "... it [the Hesiodic poem] is in Homeric hexameters for Hesiod knew of no other literary form."

making notes or an outline which he then casts into the poetic mold.³ There is no "idea" apart from the poem; indeed the poem is so innocent of the self-consciousness of a creator that it is possible to say that it represents the *evolution* of an idea, in the sense that Hesiod was not exactly sure where he would end when he began. The creative tension lies in Hesiod's juxtaposing more or less traditional elements in his poem and allowing these juxtapositions themselves to constitute the sense of the poem.

There are many theories as to the origin of the *Works and Days* and, indeed, of Hesiod's place in the early Greek poetic tradition. Although individually each is too extreme, most are useful when brought together to develop an idea of the kind of poetry with which we are dealing. The oldest and now least favorite position is that Hesiod represents a Boeotian school of poets⁴ versed in epic diction who left heroic poetry to the bards of Asia Minor while busying themselves with lists and catalogues, a rather dreary fate to assign to any class of poets, although no less a poet than W. H. Auden has remarked⁵ on the particular pleasure that catalogues give to poets. Certainly the common use of personal nouns, often in groups, through all Greek poetry shows the continuing influence of the catalogue tradition. But in addition to the catalogue style Hesiod could probably handle heroic poetry. His account of his participation in the singing at the funeral of King Amphidamas has been thought to be a reference to his career as an heroic epic poet.⁶ Then, too, the invocation to the Pierian Muses with which the *Works and Days* begins certainly has to do with epic poetry.⁷ Contrariwise

³ F. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus* (Cornell 1949) 76, n. 3, can claim that Hesiod approaches a subject "from every point of view" and that "he was not conscious of impairing the force of his *main point*" [*italics mine*].

⁴ Cf. H. G. Evelyn-White's introduction (pp. xi ff) to his translation of *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric* (Cambridge [USA] 1926).

⁵ W. H. Auden "The Making and Judging of Poetry," *The Atlantic Monthly* 199 (1957) 44-52.

⁶ J. A. Notopoulos "Homer, Hesiod and the Achaean Heritage of Oral Poetry," *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 182, n. 18; M. L. West, *Hesiod Theogony ed. with prolegomena and commentary* (Oxford 1966), makes a strong case for the *Theogony* having been the poem recited on that occasion.

⁷ In this poem the Muses who create fame through song (cf. W. B. Stanford *The Odyssey of Homer* [London 1948] 230, note on θελεκτήρια, κλείουσιν, I. 337, 338) are associated with Zeus who makes man talked about or not, mentioned or no; Hesiod seems to be pointing up the glory inherent in the men and song of epic verse. The Hesiodic relationship among the Muses, Zeus, and men noted or unnoted, sung or unsung, is an alternative statement of the poetic theory which Helen expresses in the sixth book of the *Iliad*. As she says to Hektor, speaking of herself and Paris: "Zeus set a vile destiny on us two — so that

Homer's poetry has enough well-integrated Hesiodic-like passages⁸ that we can easily imagine heroic narrative and cataloguing both existing on either side of the Aegean.⁹ Certainly we know of heroic epics now lost which were created in or around Thebes.

The distinguishing mark of the Boeotian poets is phraseology that does not belong to the Homeric poetry, so that perhaps despite the lack of any real substantiating evidence we may imagine that while this area on the mainland shared in the common language of epic there were local stylistic variations in the matter of phraseology.¹⁰ In extension, perhaps, there was also a mainland difference in attitude; at least Hesiod, whose extant works show a penchant for cataloguing and listing, can perhaps be considered as taking a different attitude toward oral narrative from what we imagine to have been Homer's, or Demodokos', or Phemios', for that matter. The former attitude is given expression in the famous account of the Muses' visitation to Hesiod: "Yokels," say they to him and his fellow shepherds, "you wretches, we know how to tell lies that seem true, although, when we choose, we can also speak truth." (26-28)

The Muses' gift of a staff and their breath of inspiration make Hesiod a singer-poet. Their reproach presumably still rings in his ears; he is lowly, they exalted; he is their chosen vessel, to sing of what has been and what will be. Every detail is important. The anecdote, however obscure, seems to contain critical attitudes, one toward chronology — that is, Hesiod will sing of things in time past and future — and one toward veracity — Hesiod will be able to sing of true things. In short, his mission as he sees it is more than to sing the κλέα ἀνδρῶν lodged in some vaguely timeless past. As he says to Perses at the beginning of the *Works and Days*, "I shall tell you the truth." This is what has been called¹¹ the antiquarian mind, the mind that receives and collates what tradition has created. An example of the antiquarian mind is Hesiod's description of the heroic age which intrudes upon the symmetry and scheme of his metallic ages. Symmetrically speaking the Bronze Age should be the Heroic Age, for a martial mentality is certainly the hallmark of the heroic age. Yet the Bronze Age in Hesiod's scheme is a

hereafter we shall be made into things of song for the men of the future." (See my *The Iliad, The Odyssey and the Epic Tradition* [Garden City 1966] 8f.)

⁸ See my "Homeric Battle Narrative and Catalogues" *HSCP* 68 (1964) 345ff.

⁹ Cf. Notopoulos (above, n. 6), who argues for a standard oral poetic language.

¹⁰ Cf. M. West's commentary (above, n. 6) *passim*.

¹¹ H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *Growth of Literature* (Cambridge England 1940) III, 746-747, 804-807.

further deterioration from the golden age precisely *because of* this bellicosity, whereas the tradition of the heroic age stresses its nobility and glory, its goodness. Hesiod is objective enough to harmonize his scheme with the tradition by an intercalary age, so to speak, a period of heroic warring, to be sure, but a period nonetheless ended not in death as the Bronze Age but with a sojourn in the Isles of the Blest. It is this which redeems the heroic epoch. He has more or less amalgamated features of the Bronze and Silver Ages in making his Heroic Age. The special attitude here is that of someone who looks upon his material as a thing apart (just as the Muses' reproach to Hesiod so thoroughly separated him from them). The poet is not imbued with his material; he can instead *use* it. All of his material, then, is capable of being paradeigmatic or at least illustrative, something other than a direct statement. So a search for his meaning is legitimate.¹²

Hesiod, while he may share a tradition with Homer, seems, in the *Works and Days* at least, to differ from Homeric poetry in style as well as substance. The nature of Hesiod's tradition seems at last to be becoming clearer, so that we can at least discard the notion that he was working under the influence of the Homeric poems specifically and trying to adapt their phraseology to a set of ideas that he himself had worked up.¹³ The evidence now suggests that he himself was an oral poet or very close to the mechanism of the oral poetic tradition.¹⁴ Thus his language and themes cannot be said to derive from any one source after the manner of imitation or adaptation among literate poets.

Hesiod's sources are also becoming better identified as the poetry of the Near East becomes known to classicists. Hesiod shares many themes and stories with second millennium poetry.¹⁵ One errs, I believe, in imagining that Hesiod's use of this material derives from direct acquaintance with the Near East¹⁶ just as do those who argue

¹² Eric Auerbach's essay "Odysseus' Scar" (reprinted in *Mimesis* [Princeton 1953]), which is a cautionary reminder of the difficulty in discovering intent in Homer's narrative, indirectly highlights the possibility of doing so in Hesiodic verse.

¹³ For a recent expression of this critical position see E. A. Havelock "Thoughtful Hesiod" *YCS* 20 (1966) 59-72.

¹⁴ H. Berkeley Peabody, *Hesiod, Works and Days: An Exemplar of Ancient Greek Oral Compositional Technique* (Albany 1971), is the most recent discussion.

¹⁵ P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff 1966), and M. L. West (above, n. 6) 1-15, have made the major recent contributions to demonstrating Hesiod's affinities.

¹⁶ Cf. Walcot (above, n. 15) 68ff.

that Hesiod acquired it through his father's sojourn on the coast of Asia Minor not far from Eastern influences.¹⁷ Rather, we must stress the fact that these so-called "foreign" elements are in verse that derives from the oral poetic tradition. This implies generations of creative amalgamation of theme and phrase, which, of course, seems to point at a very early acquisition of these stories. Perhaps we may thus take Hesiod's tradition back to the Mycenaean period, the next most recent moment when communication between the Greek-speaking world and the eastern Aegean was common.

We seem to be dealing with traditional poetry, then, and with a poet who was not at all eccentric in his poetic tastes. One observation remains to be made. The material of Hesiod's creation seems different in an important way. Homeric verse has been much studied in past years. What emerges is the sense that the poet creates epic narratives out of metrically defined phrases¹⁸ and metrically assigned key words together with generally known plot lines and the myriad details from mythology and a quasi-reality which go to make up the stories' texture. He did not have his material verbatim. The metrically defined phrase for the oral poet is the linguistic building-block just as the word is for literate verbal production. The *Works and Days*, however, seems to reveal often — not always — another, longer, semantically more complete building-block. This is the aphorism. Line after line is a self-contained idea. Enjambement, the run-over line, where in the Homeric epics often a new idea begins after the bucolic diaeresis and continues in the first feet of the succeeding line, is relatively rare in the *Works and Days*. Furthermore, often one sees what may well be aphoristic elements combined to make a greater whole. For instance, lines 21-24:

εἰς ἕτερον γάρ τις τε ἰδὼν ἔργοιο χατίζει
 πλούσιον ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρώμεναι ἦδε φυτεύειν
 οἶκον τ' ἐὺ θέσθαι· ζηλοῖ δέ τε γείτονα γείτων
 εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντι· ἀγαθὴ δ' Ἔρις ἦδε βροτοῖσιν.

are three loosely connected statements which can with very little adjustment be easily made into a set of six observations free of any connection:

1. εἰς ἕτερον γάρ τις τε ἰδὼν ἔργοιο χατίζει
2. πλούσιος ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρώμεναι ἦδε φυτεύειν

¹⁷ Cf., e.g., A. Lesky, *History of Greek Literature* (London 1966) 95.

¹⁸ The recent description of the phenomenon by J. B. Hainsworth in *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford 1968) 1-22 is superb.

3. οἶκον τ' εὖ θέσθαι
4. ζηλοῖ δέ τε γείτονα γείτων
5. εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδειν
6. ἀγαθή δ' Ἔρις ἔστι βροτοῖσιν

It has been noted before that the aphorisms of Hesiod bear a strong resemblance to the earliest quoted responses of the Delphic oracle. The oracle dealt out sacred wisdom as, we might say, Hesiod seems to be offering secular wisdom. Herodotos in fact quotes a line common to Hesiod and to a Delphic oracular utterance.¹⁹ Perhaps we can see in these two places, in the one institutionalized, and in the other at least regularized, the phenomenon of verbal elements in dactylic hexametric verse which are self-contained, complete ideas in a way that the characteristic Homeric phrase is not.

Here, therefore, we may pause to consider whether this is not a striking difference between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry; that in the latter we find a poet using complete thoughts — however brief (however trite) — as remembered units, or units at the ready in the creative subconscious (if the word “remembered” too much suggests the generally rejected notion of verbatim). If true, then we need a different criticism for this poetry. It is what these elements mean *in combination* that becomes important or more important than what each one means intrinsically, separately. Hesiod’s act of creation, after all, his attempt at making meaning, comes in the combination, not in making each individual metrically discrete thought. It is there where we must seek his intent.

Hesiod’s style is, however, remarkably various; the *Works and Days* contains other kinds of passages such as the celebrated description of winter (504ff) or the discussion of justice (249ff). These are distinctly less aphoristic; so are the agricultural calendar, the Ages of Man scheme, the Prometheus/Pandora story, and so on. But in one way the aphorisms are like the stories (passages like the Prometheus/Pandora narrative, for instance): they are elements which Hesiod got from the tradition of which he was a part. In the case of the aphorisms the elements are whole — even the very words and their order — whereas the stories, just as those in Homer, were very likely in his memory in outline which he could flesh out in words.

¹⁹ *Works and Days* 285 quoted at *Histories* 6.86; H. Parke and W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1956) I xxiv ff, describe the language of the oracle in terms very pertinent to the Hesiodic language, noticed earlier by R. C. Jebb, *Classical Greek Poetry* (Boston 1883) 89f.

As we have noted, Hesiod's *Works and Days* bears marked affinities to many texts of the Near East. The odd fact is, however, that Hesiod's poem incorporates elements that are, so to speak, of different genres in the earlier Eastern literature. On the one hand we have something like proto-historical cosmological or cosmogonic stories, that is, the Prometheus/Pandora story and the Ages of man — man's fall — and, on the other hand, we have the wisdom literature. In turn it is of two sorts, one, practical/ethical proverbs, and two, an agricultural calendar. The combination of these three different poetic species seems unusual and remarkable.²⁰ Then there is also the added element of the poet's reaction to this traditional material (which is how I would characterize Hesiod's discussion of justice). This last recalls the sardonic voice of Qoheleth, the Preacher of the Old Testament, as he views some elements of the traditional wisdom of his culture.

The unusual combination to be found in Hesiod immediately suggests that his purpose was something other than reconstructing history or offering an encapsulated, codified education. He is not using any one of these themes or traditions straight, to come to the obvious. Rather the fact of their combination inhibits the exposition of the obvious. Thus we may look to see how these elements relate to each other as the projection of some meaning for the poem, a meaning that will transcend its parts.

In rough outline we may divide the poem into three parts, the first being the invocation, the initial discussion of wrath, the Prometheus story, the Ages of Man, and the fable. In the second part Hesiod strives to make the ideas of work and justice synonymous. This portion ends with the triumphant and almost operatic:

σοὶ δ' εἰ πλούτου θυμὸς ἔλδεται, ἐνφρεσὶν ᾗσιν
ὦδ' ἔρδειν, καὶ ἔργον ἐπ' ἔργῳ ἐργάζεσθαι.

"So if in your heart you want wealth, then get to it, work and pile work upon work!" (381-382)

Properly speaking, only the third part is the works and days. A panorama of agricultural life is set out in an orderly schema based on

²⁰ Agricultural advice is little found; see Walcot's description of a Sumerian text (pp. 93ff), which is, however, simply an agrarian almanac. The texts collected by Lambert (W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* [Oxford 1960]) and Pritchard (J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 3rd ed. with supplement [Princeton 1969]) show the kind of thing we find in the *Works and Days*, i.e. fables, creation stories, precepts, proverbs, but no text seems to be a combination of these.

the seasons. It commences with ploughing (383-492), the activity of autumn; then there is a description of winter (493-563), then spring and early summer (that is, February to June 564-596). The passage ends with a description of the harvest (July to October 597-617), by which point Hesiod has gone through a year. After two passages, one dealing briefly with the maritime calendar and one offering a variety of maxims mostly relating to the taboos in man's life, the poet moves into the lucky and unlucky days which close the poem.

Going *husteron-proteron*, we may notice how Hesiod has joined the elements of this, the third part of his poem, for the joining is more obvious here and will help us in analyzing the first part of the *Works and Days*. To repeat, there are an agricultural calendar, general and particular remarks about the life of a sailor, a series of maxims relating to behavior, and a list of lucky and unlucky days. Altogether these elements combine to provide a strong reaffirmation of the first and second parts of the poem. Nonetheless moving from one to another of these very distinguishable passages, trying to "maintain the thought," as the expression goes, is difficult, to say the least. This is because the transitions are of another sort than logical.

To begin, the remarks on the sea proceed easily out of the close of Hesiod's description of the agricultural year. The latter ends as it began, in autumn, now late autumn. Hesiod mentions the setting of the Pleiades to locate it in time, just as he has been using the stars as a frame throughout this discussion. The reference to the Pleiades either allows for, we may say, or, as I think, more probably, *provokes* in Hesiod the transition to the ships, for he again (619) notices the setting Pleiades now as the sign to draw up the ships and leave off seafaring for the winter. Hesiod's remarks on winter gales and the dangers which they engender at sea set the tone for a relatively pejorative account of the sailor's life, which is more general and abstract than the preceding agricultural calendar.

In turn the end of the passage on sailing provokes perhaps the series of maxims which follow. Hesiod concludes his description of sailing by saying: μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος. (694). Then he turns to say: ὥραϊος δὲ γυναιῖκα τεὸν ποτὶ οἶκον ἄγεσθαι, . . . etc. The sense of ὥραϊος is a natural concomitant to the preceding; furthermore, ὥραϊος and line 694 both underscore the idea of aphoristic wisdom poetry which has to do with propriety or rightness of one sort or another.

Then, finally, the list of lucky and unlucky days, because they have to do with magic, relates directly and proceeds naturally from the discussion of taboo acts which the maxims are. Furthermore, the days are

the calendary particulars for which the previous description of the agricultural year was the overview.

In this fashion Hesiod seems to move from one essentially distinguishable passage to another. In one case two references to the setting Pleiades provide the link, in another the common idea contained in μέτρα, καιρὸς and ὥραϊος.²¹ What we are here observing is that there is no ideological or logical transition between the passages.²² The same is true of the first part of the poem where Hesiod lays the ground for the presentation of works and days. This is important to remember because the first section appears especially obscure to many readers, because there seems to be the kind of structuring which ought to derive from logic.

Hesiod's medium is poetry, either truly oral or suggestive of an oral culture, an oral mentality. Therefore, we can expect 1) transitions that are other than intellectual, 2) presentations of what we may choose to call ideas, that, when they are imagistic, are not at all derived from self-conscious symbols, and 3) a focus upon the immediate presentation of each segment rather than a development of the whole. Architecture in oral poetry is essentially evolutionary and nowhere more than in a cataloguing style where the fact of juxtaposition is central; the additions in listing continually alter the main theme or idea. Let us consider the poetic development of the first 212 lines. At the very first of the poem, the poet begins after his invocation by advancing on what seems to be a piece of traditional wisdom which he chooses to redefine.²³ His definition of the two forms of strife links, on the one hand, 1) competition, 2) work, and 3) the idea of underground or more generally the

²¹ von Groningen (above, n. 1) 29ff, isolates certain recurrent words which produce a kind of coherency or an alternative system of transition.

²² This tendency can be found elsewhere in Hesiod; cf., e.g., *Theogony* 907 where *τρεῖς* has meaning within the line itself, but is also in a sense sequential to *δέυτερον* of line 901.

²³ "It is unnecessary to see any allusion to *Theog.* 225 (birth of *ἔρις*). The imperfect with *ἔρα* expresses what was true all along and still is" (T. A. Sinclair, *Hesiod, Works and Days* [London 1932] note on 11). Geoffrey Kirk has recently discussed Hesiod's treatment of Prometheus, Pandora and the Ages of Man (*Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and other Cultures* [Berkeley 1970], 226ff) in order to show the self-conscious and rational approach which Hesiod takes to mythic material. In his account, however, Hesiod seems obsessed with the details of his stories whereas it seems to me that the Boeotian poet is more impressed by over-all structure. Thus, the details of the Ages of Man narrative, or the Prometheus narrative, are not important but rather the structures and especially the correspondences, or repetitions in the structure. Hesiod's poetic technique, like Homer's, does not emphasize details, as for instance lyric poetry does, and surely that reveals as well a habit of mind.

idea of *within*: κεραμεὺς, κεραμεῖ κοτέει, ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν, γαίης ἐν ῥίζησι and, on the other, 1) hostility, 2) idleness, and 3) talk: πόλεμον . . . ὀφέλλει, "Ερις κακόχαρτος, ἀπ' ἔργου θυμὸν ἐρύκοι, ἀγορῆς ἐπακουόν.

The sense of "within" leads him to his story of Prometheus, 30-31: "no time for quarrelling when you haven't got enough provisions (βίος) for the year within," 40-41: "silly kings, who don't know the benefit to be found in mallow and asphodel." "For," says Hesiod next, "the gods hid the provisions for life [βίος] from man." The transition lies in the in-ness of hiding, back through the benefit in mallow, "provisions within," to the gods having hidden the good strife in the roots of the earth. The transition certainly is not logical but the images are congenial: a) the hiding of healthy struggle or competition in the roots of the earth, b) there being something of benefit tucked away in mallow and asphodel, and c) the gods' having hidden the means to man's sustenance. Indeed the notion of containment and hiding gets us well into the Prometheus/Pandora story.

The idea of concealment or containment in fact holds the Prometheus/Pandora passage together. The gods *hide* the means of life for man; a few lines later Zeus is said to have *hidden* something unspecified (ἐκρυψε has no object) in anger; then Prometheus steals the fire from Zeus and *hides* it *in* the hollow stalk of a plant; whereupon at Zeus' bidding the gods adorn Pandora and by this means *conceal* her essentially malevolent nature; Pandora a little later clamps down the lid on the jar, thereby keeping hope or delusion *within*. Most of these images relate back in an ambiguous way to the fundamental fact that something much needed is hidden within and must be ferreted out, that things are not as they seem and must be understood. Commentators are often puzzled at this section. For instance, the gods' hiding the means of life βίος) and Zeus' hiding fire are two very different things which Hesiod manages to equate. A common critical refuge from this confusion is to say that Hesiod passes lightly and allusively over tales well-known depending upon his audience's knowledge of the relevant passage in the *Theogony*.²⁴ However true it may be that both Hesiod and his audience knew much fuller versions of what he here merely touches upon, it seems an important critical principle that we must concentrate on whatever details he *does* offer as being significant for his present narrative. The idea of "within" has permitted him to assemble certain facts. Let us consider what the aggregate suggests.

²⁴ Cf., e.g., P. Walcot, "Composition of the *Works and Days*," *REG* 74 (1961) 2.

Man has fire, Pandora (or womankind *per se*), work and misery — that is what the story tells us. And these are all inextricably linked; that is Hesiod's use of the story.

He brings work and life's sustenance together in the idea of hiding, first good strife or struggle in the roots of the earth, and then sustenance (*βίος*) hidden by the gods. If this had not been so, says Hesiod, (43ff) one could leave off tilling, again equating work with life's nourishment. Then he equates life's nourishment with fire by means of the confusing remarks on Zeus' hiding at first something unidentified, then specifically fire. Since fire seems to have been understood²⁵ as man's first contrived means to sustain himself it relates naturally to the meaning of *βίος*. The natural relationship of contrivance and fire implies work. The two are in turn tied in with the description of Pandora's arrival in man's world. Pandora is woman, Pandora is punishment for stealing fire; Pandora and fire arrive almost simultaneously. Fire and Pandora are evocative of house and family, craft and society — in sum, the organized life of which routine, planned work is part. And work in a primitive agricultural society is a kind of evil, very often fatal, generally debilitating and crippling. Members of advanced, technological, urbanized societies do not realize or forget the agrarian realities which form the poem's context. There is the fear that the crop will not come to maturity, fear that the stored harvest will not last the barren season, and fear that a decent planting season will not recur. There is the disfigurement of agricultural labor, the permanently bowed limbs, cracked skin and squinting eyes; there is the danger of agricultural accidents which bring blood poisoning, tetanus, and gangrene. Perhaps most of all there are the imperious, daily demands of the agrarian routine.²⁶

But the fact that Pandora is a woman allows Hesiod to emphasize that work is something intrinsic and natural, however evil. Thus it is more than an imposed punishment from god. Hesiod relates work to the arrival of woman, and just as woman is a natural and inevitable

²⁵ Although E. A. Havelock, *The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics* (New Haven 1957), 36ff, argues that Hesiod ignores the technological implications in the theft of fire, certainly technology is a part of the Aeschylean Prometheus story (cf. Havelock, *ibid.* 54ff), and I cannot see that Havelock has made a case for Hesiod's ignoring it.

²⁶ Cf. Sinclair (above, n. 23), xxiv-xxv; L. Stella, "Esiodo poeta georgico?" *La parola del passato* 4 (1949), 201-216, elegantly disposes of the notion that Hesiod's agrarian vision was the least bit pastoral. "Quanto all' amore dei campi, non si trova in tutto il poema un solo verso che ne faccia indovinare un palpito" (p. 202).

feature of this world, so is work. The shift here from an emphasis on work as punishment, work as evil, to the barest suggestion of work as natural plays with the idea of good *εἶς*, desirable competition or struggle. This may indeed be Hesiod's original addition to the traditional concept of work.²⁷ In any case, Hesiod is faced with the not-uncommon problem of justifying or at least legitimizing an evil. His equation of work–fire–woman–evil seems to accept the pessimistic assessment of work but also to make it natural and social. We find something of the same equation in Lucretius' second stage of man's development, where society, marriage, and the family are a degenerative trend.²⁸

The conception of Pandora comes, of course, originally from a very different tradition. Hesiod, however, was probably not the initial misogynist to deform it. Perhaps in fact this kind of story is in origin the product of the collision of a nomadic male-oriented society with an agrarian female-oriented society in which the beneficent female vegetation figure becomes the dread ogre who subdues and domesticates males in the deadening routine of agricultural work.

In sum, Hesiod tells us man must inevitably work; his life will be harsh. Pandora has closed the lid on hope (that is how I read it²⁹). As he concludes the Prometheus/Pandora story he says, "And so there is no way to escape the will of Zeus" (105). After this grim observation he moves to a restatement: "If you like, I shall tell you another story." This is his transition from the grim observation to the description of the Ages of Man. As "another story" the Ages of Man represents an alternative paradigm; we shall look for a correspondence. This kind of restatement is in a larger-scale like the appositional style of the Homeric poems.³⁰ In detail the Ages of Man is a moral chronology which reveals man's growing antisocial behavior. Men of the Silver Age, long in childhood, incapable thereafter either of social communion or of the responsibility toward their gods, are followed by the men of the Bronze Age, whose outstanding trait is bellicosity, to which their deaths, so

²⁷ George Thompson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society* I 297ff, discusses in detail the early systems of land tenure where often private ownership was a hazardous novelty.

²⁸ See my "Lucretius and Progress," *CJ* 58 (1963) 166f.

²⁹ So also Sinclair (above, n. 23), note on 96.

³⁰ The appositional style is well illustrated by the *Iliad*'s opening lines where the word "wrath" in the first line is defined and again redefined in adjectives and phrases in the ensuing five lines, each being an appositional restatement of "Wrath". See my "Homeric Battle Narrative and Catalogues," *HSCP* 68 (Cambridge [Mass.] 1964) 350.

lengthily described, are a natural corollary. Bad strife is certainly ascendant, even though Hesiod pauses his pitiless narrative for a moment to acknowledge the literary fact of a mythopoetic heroic world. Then on to the Iron Age, too awful to live in, Hesiod's present-day, characterized by the disintegration of the family, by the perversity of the machine of justice. The emphasis on the evil of words and of the marketplace harks back to the initial description of bad strife, which Hesiod related to the marketplace.³¹ The horrors of Iron Age families, on the other hand, is an abstraction of Hesiod's very own quarrel with Perses. These are the details of the Ages of Man. Overall, it reinforces and isolates the central fact of the Prometheus/Pandora story — the inexorability of evil. The emphasis on the ever-increasing degree of this evil heightens the desperation.

And now, says Hesiod, thereafter, I shall tell you a fable. The *νῦν*, like *ἔτερον*, presents an alternative again in apposition, again a refinement. The fable of the hawk and the nightingale being brief and non-human seems to be almost an abstraction, the sum and cap to the whole sequence.³² One ought not read it as symbolic of Hesiod's relationship to the local gentry, although the literary mind is tempted to treat the fable as symbolic. The fable is a commonplace;³³ it does not localize Hesiod's despair in his present situation (since in fact he does not reflect desperation in his attitude toward Perses and the local judges) but instead articulates most succinctly and most clearly the sense of desperation that the previous two stories have engendered. The fable says that the rhythm of this world in which mankind is the victim is inexorable (the hawk has the nightingale fast in his talons) arbitrary ("I shall make you my dinner if I will or maybe let you go"), and amoral ("you're mine to take where I will even though you are a singer"). In essence this is the natural world with which on its most intimate level a farmer has to contend.

I should like to remark that the relationship between the description of the Ages of Man and the fable of the hawk and the nightingale seems to be repeated — it is hard to say whether consciously — toward the

³¹ Notice the repetitions of *κακόχαρτος* 28, 196. Adverse feelings toward lawyers, scribes, and other city-slickers are probably common to all rural peoples. For a Babylonian example from a series of admonitions not unlike Hesiod's see Lambert (above, n. 20) 101.

³² W. Nicolai, *Hesiods Erga: Beobachtungen zum Aufbau* (Heidelberg 1964) 164f, sees the relationship between the Prometheus story, the Ages of Man, and the Fable as being emblems of "Gotter, Menschen und Tiere."

³³ Wakot (above, n. 16) 90 quotes a similar tale of a pig and a butcher.

close of the poem. I refer to the relationship between the agricultural calendar and the lucky and unlucky days. In the earlier part of the poem, Hesiod's history of the inexorable march of degeneration is rephrased in the fable's projection of invincible force. At the poem's very end the agricultural calendar displays a panorama of annual activities dictated by the stars.³⁴ Like the Ages of Man this is a chronology, although of another sort, but just as inexorable. The list of lucky and unlucky days refines and emphasizes, projects the mechanical and inevitable nature of that calendar.

The extreme pessimism which Hesiod reflects is a typical feature of wisdom literature. It relates very definitely to the cyclical view of time which an agrarian culture, especially its religion, presents. The agrarian world, inexorable in its seasonal, even daily, demands presents a recurrent and fixed chronology from which there is no escape.³⁵ Hesiod has said, "There is no way to escape the will of Zeus." His stories have demonstrated this in a general way, and the final part of the poem reinforces this idea, partly as a refrain, but also showing the truth of this assertion in details of another order. The stories in the first part have to do with history whereas the end of the poem, the wisdom poetry, deals with personal behavior and daily tasks. The maxims, the calendar, the lucky and unlucky days, are, we may assume, just as traditional as the stories, and in that sense, they are again the "truths" which Hesiod has assembled — the verities of the tradition. They are not there as a farmer's calendar or as a complete guide to rural behavior.³⁶ As is often noted, they seem sketchy and incomplete. Quite so, for they are there, parts standing for the whole, to illustrate the fact of inexorability in the day-to-day existence of man. The aphorisms and calendar are as arbitrary and inevitable as the grip with which the hawk holds the nightingale, as the harshness of life which Zeus through

³⁴ Walcot (above, n. 16) 100: "I should like to be able to accept the suggestion that in the *Works and Days* we have a progression starting with the ages in the myth of ages, continued by the year in the farmer's calendar and finishing with the individual days of the month, but I cannot convince myself that such a scheme underlies the structure of Hesiod's poem."

³⁵ D. J. Stewart, "Hesiod and History," *Bucknell Review* 37 (1970) 37ff, argues for a linear concept of history in Hesiod, the arrival of the *pithos* giving man a new direction and a new responsibility in time, an idea that seems to me to be more congenial to the Old Testament than to the Greek mind of the archaic age. On the pessimistic nature of Babylonian wisdom literature see Lambert (above, n. 20) 17.

³⁶ Walcot (above, n. 16), in comparing a Sumerian agricultural piece (9.4ff) remarks: "the Sumerian text is much more prosaic"; that is, because it is primarily informational.

Prometheus and Pandora brought to mankind. One is reminded of the pessimism of Qoheleth, for instance, when he says (1.4ff), "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever. The sun also riseth, the sun goeth down . . ."; or when he says (1.9), "that which hath been is named already, and it is known," or the celebrated passage which is most directly analogous to Hesiod's *Works and Days* which begins: (3.1ff) "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven . . ." ³⁷

This idea of the right moment, the concept of ripeness, is a continual refrain in Hesiod's poem. At times one can only wonder that the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* are thought to be by the same man; for they seem to betray such different notions of time. The former with its story of successive generations of godhead, the battles and triumphs of newer or more refined deities, shows a linear sense of time; a notion of progression and change which is altogether absent from the *Works and Days*. And yet the positive affirmation of the *Theogony* is not absent from the *Works and Days*.³⁸ Hesiod manages to escape the melancholia of the cyclical rhythm which, for instance, Qoheleth manifests at every turn. This seems to me to be because Hesiod has managed in the central portion of his poem to find a positive stance to take toward the inexorable rhythm of his life, to have converted necessity into choice. While this is perhaps no more than verbal legerdemain, nevertheless man has very few other ways to escape the fact of his elemental nothingness.

In the central portion of his poem duality becomes significant. This theme is in the poem from its beginning; the invocation is based upon it (man will be spoken of *or* not, Zeus can make a man strong *or* he can bring the strong man down). Indeed the very idea of strife or competition depends upon duality. Furthermore, there is a duality in good and bad strife, Hesiod versus Perses, Zeus versus Prometheus, Epimetheus versus Pandora, the silver and gold ages versus the bronze, the

³⁷ Although Qoheleth is generally dated to the Hellenistic era (cf. Robert Gordis *Qoheleth, The Man and His World* [New York 1969³] 51ff), some have remarked that his thought bears real affinities to all earlier Greek tradition, to Xenophanes, for instance (A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes* with notes and appendices [Cambridge 1904] 45f), and to Hesiod (H. Ranston, *Ecclesiastes and Early Greek Wisdom Literature* [London 1925] 63ff). For help in this subject I should like to thank James Purvis.

³⁸ F. Teggert, "The Argument of Hesiod's *Works and Days*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 8 (1947) 54ff, develops the idea that when Hesiod shows pessimism he is following the Near Eastern tradition, whereas when he is optimistic or affirmative he follows the *Odyssey* (cf. esp. the examples on pp. 54, 68). But is the *Odyssey* optimistic? Cf., e.g., Odysseus' speech at 18.131ff.

hawk versus the nightingale. The sense of duality, however, while present is not emphasized at first.

The quarrel between the brothers is, as we have said, expressive of the general duality throughout the poem. And the duality becomes the mode by which Hesiod saves himself from the extreme pessimism which one may note in Eastern wisdom literature. From the first there lurks the hint that if Perses is the bad, then of course, Hesiod must be the good, and thus there is an alternative.

We must pause a moment to remark that the dispute that Hesiod describes between himself and his brother and his constant admonition to μέγα νήπιε περσε seem the perfect metaphor, or the living paradigm of the speculations he contrives within the poem. The natural competition between siblings turned to hostility by Perses' actions shows good and bad strife as well as the human tendency to degeneration, particularly in the family arena, and the local judges' ruling in favor of Perses is both an arbitrary exercise of power like that which man must face in the hierarchy of nature and an illustration of the distinction between the basic malignity of the forensic scene and the spoken word and the goodness of work and the farm. Admonitory literature of the Near East, even a specimen of poetry involving a dialogue between Good and Bad brother raise up the question of Perses' authenticity.³⁹ Is he anything more than a conceit? It has even been suggested that Hesiod was so "literary" as to have contrived the quarrel as a counterpoint to the Homeric dispute between Achilles and Agamemnon.⁴⁰ Thus Hesiod is the agrarian hero whose stay and prop is a rustic ἄρετή. And the organizing principle of the poem is Hesiod's self-conscious dramatic portrait of the brothers' quarrel and its consequence.

There seem, however, to be enough likely authentic autobiographical details in the *Works and Days* to make it more reasonable to accept Perses and the land dispute as true facts in Hesiod's life. Indeed, the poem perhaps arises from the inevitable synthesis between the particulars of Hesiod's experience and the universal données of his tradition. Sibling rivalry is typical, private ownership makes dispute inevitable, lawcourts and litigation serve to make clear the distinction between the doer and the speaker, admonitory literature demands an expressed object of the admonition. Fact and form combine perfectly

³⁹ See Walcott (above, n. 16) for examples and the literature, 90ff. Perhaps the Good and Bad Brother is as basic or archetypal as the Cain and Abel theme.

⁴⁰ H. Munding, *Hesiods Erga in ihren Verhältnis zur Ilias* (Frankfurt 1959) 23ff.

in the *Works and Days*. Perses is an expression of the arbitrary evil in this world which men must accept positively or to which they must resign themselves in pessimism.

The first part of Hesiod's poem is a bleak account of man's fate. It corresponds to the earlier experience of Hesiod's life, the heartless judgement that went against Hesiod in favor of Perses. The second portion of the poem is an attempt to make something of this fate, and at the same time Hesiod projects the expectation of a changed situation in his land-holding. What we have is a psychological correspondence.

The second part of the poem is both curious and awkward because Hesiod goes about defining Δίκη (Justice) in two ways which are not necessarily complementary. Hesiod somewhat briefly tries out the possibility of an ethical basis to justice, and then returns to the matter of inexorability and there locates his idea of *dikē*.

The most prominent features of this second part, or central portion of the poem, are: 1) the image of the race track where *hybris* and *dikē* compete for victory; 2) an ideal portrait of the good city to which a brief pendant portrait of the evil city offers contrast; 3) the image of the two roads, one leading to virtue, the other to evil; 4) a composite of the virtues of work, interspersed with aphoristic comments on the slothful man.

The least structural, seemingly most improvised passage is at the center (248-285). It is Hesiod's most extreme venture into some kind of theology of a deity who presides over ethics and morals. This is a change from the earlier portion of the poem; there Zeus was not benevolent but rather harsh. The act of hiding men's sustenance shows Zeus to be devoid of compassion although some critics raise the possibility that Hesiod means to imply that Zeus did it for mankind's own good. But Hesiod does not say this, no matter how much we may imagine that he had tendencies in that direction. The shift to a conception of an ethical deity is motivated by the material of Hesiod's poem; he is in this sense led to it. Zeus, I believe, at the outset of the *Works and Days* is simply power, pure power; he is the hawk, mankind is the nightingale. Hesiod did not have intimations of divine benevolence lurking, waiting to be expressed.⁴¹

⁴¹ E. Vandvik, "Notes on Hesiod," *Symb. Osloensis* 24 (1945) 158ff, argues that the Hesiodic Zeus plans for man's life to be simple and that Prometheus' theft of fire is symbolic of an unhappy tendency toward material excess. See also Vandvik's book *The Prometheus of Hesiod and Aeschylus* (Oslo 1943), where he says that for Hesiod, "Struggle for life was intended by Zeus to improve humanity" (p. 21).

The new, ethical dimension to Hesiod's Zeus comes out of the material which he is at this point developing. The immediate transition following the fable of the cruel hawk and the helpless nightingale is Hesiod's own exhortation to Perses to leave off acts of *hybris*. Although the fable had begun as a pendant commentary on the naked power of the order of things it is also a portrait at the same time of unalloyed *hybris*; hence the appeal to Perses follows naturally.

The descriptions of the good city and the bad city, together with the portrait of the Age of Iron, also relate to the Perses/Hesiod quarrel. As Hesiod develops his case, always set against the larger issues of the human condition, he leans heavily on the picture of a family torn with dissent. The healing in this familial situation comes from compassion. This ingredient is central to his present conception of Zeus, who is guardian of man's conduct to his fellows, the god who will punish those who maltreat others and bring down the unrighteous. With his conception of the good and bad cities, but more on the basis of his fable, Hesiod makes a special case for mankind's behavior. When he remarks (275ff) that Zeus contrived for the animals to eat one another but to men he gave justice, Hesiod is perhaps saying that man cannot do violence as the senseless, instinct-driven or mechanical natural powers — whether animal or meteorological — can. Because man is frail, he is vulnerable next to god and nature; the Prometheus story is an example. Man is of another order from those creatures who naturally do violence to each other; witness the hawk and the nightingale.

At this point Hesiod continues to say: "to him who knows how to speak justly Zeus gives prosperity . . . for him who lies and injures *dikē* . . . his descendants shall be dim and obscure." *Dikē* here means just dealings among men. In that sense the relevance of *dikē* to Hesiod's present plight with Perses is strongest, yet the passage is ambiguous in terms of the whole poem, for Hesiod by introducing the cosmogonic *logoi* and the wisdom poetry has established a much larger, if quite unwieldy field for his speculative adventures. Maltreating another may set in motion special punishment, stemming from Zeus' 30,000 spirits who ever watch mankind from the entreaties of *Dikē* enthroned next to Zeus in the heavens. But rectitude in one's dealings with his fellow man will not necessarily spare a man from the anguish, aches, and pains which the Prometheus/Pandora story and the portrait of the Iron Age reveal as man's natural lot. Nor does this conception of *dikē* show one the way in confronting the inevitability of man's grim estate. True enough, Hesiod has left all that behind in the manner of an oral poet and turned uncomplicatedly to this new conception. But he just as

easily turns back again, so that it is dubious to give too much emphasis to the ethical position. That is not Hesiod's main concern.

It is the idea of work, instead, that offers the most complete expression of *dikē*. Hesiod reaches it through the several images that project the sense of duality. Competition between personified moral conditions and acts points the way out of hopelessness and pessimism. Suddenly instead of the static picture of the hawk and the nightingale we have the open-ended, on-going chancy race track and the competition of *hybris* and *dikē*.⁴² Following this the descriptions of the good and bad cities manage to bring together important ideas so as to begin to achieve the synthesis between *dikē* and work. The good city where *dikē* is kept is described in vegetable or at least organic terms. The city blooms, its people are in blossom, the earth bears, oaks flourish and bees, the grain-giving earth brings forth its harvest, and so on. The portrait of the bad city, brief as it is, speaks of war, plague, and commerce: women sterile, armies destroyed, ships at sea swept away. The bad city is of a piece with the Bronze Age, the Iron Age, and the ideas of wicked strife, whereas the good city is essentially an agrarian phenomenon; the language of prosperity is from the field and the blessings of justice are flourishing crops. Justice in the good city is the concomitant if not the agency of agricultural success. Hesiod, following his description of the good road and the bad road, changes the emphasis and links agrarian prosperity to work. But the very description of the road turns the emphasis that way naturally: "The gods have placed sweat on the road to *aretē*; the road to *aretē* is long and steep, rough-going at first." In other words it is *hard work* to get to *aretē*; the association is natural. *Aretē* becomes hard work, *dikē* lies in working hard, and working hard is going along the assigned route.

The image of the two roads is in part a restatement of the race-track image of thirty lines earlier. But the freedom of the race-track is gone. Hesiod returns to the fundamental idea of inexorability which

⁴² Lines 214-221 present a confusing picture, but I believe the sense of a race track, or a race at least, is strongest, forming initially on *δίκη δ' ὑπὲρ ὕβριος ἴσχει/ἐς τέλος ἐξελθοῦσά* (217f) and . . . *τρέχει Ὀρκυς . . .* (219f), then helped by . . . *βαρύνει, κτλ.* (215), portraying a man slowed in the track under this burden. *ὁδὸς δ' ἐτέρηφι παρελθεῖν/κρείσσω ἐς τὰ δίκαια* could imply an alternative road, such as we find at 288ff. The *παρελθεῖν* suggests, however, the sense of a competing runner stepping out and around on the other side (*ἐτέρηφι*) of the track to go on to win for justice. Thus *κρείσσω ἐς τὰ δίκαια*, although literally modifying *ὁδὸς*, stands in a kind of symmetry with *ἐγκύρσας ἀάτησιν*. Compare the remarks of Proclus quoted by F. A. Paley, *The Epics of Hesiod* (London 1883²), note on *Εργα*, 216.

dominates the thinking of the poem. There is a road to good and a road to evil. The road is a system, a way, in that sense closed, inexorable. The image of the road is a natural corollary to the control and rigidity implicit in the fable of the hawk and the nightingale.

Now Hesiod is able to portray the man whom the gods love as the hard-working man. "Gods and men hate him who is idle . . . thus let your work be done in measure, so that your barn will be full in season . . . men who work are loved by the immortal gods . . . if you work you will grow rich, . . . *aretē* and *kudos* come to him who is rich."⁴³ With this Hesiod leaves the ethical idea of *dikē* with which he had toyed only briefly. He further cements the relations between work and justice by talking of knowledge. But it is not enough to work hard, one must comprehend the way things are. Hesiod says, "The really best man is he who himself thinks through everything and comes to knowledge, next best is the man who will trust in the advice of one who knows. He who won't listen is useless." Comprehension or understanding emerges as a natural component of admonition or something didactic, and Hesiod utilizes it fully.

We have found another sense of *dikē* which becomes the more substantial one for Hesiod, *dikē* in the sense of the way it is supposed to be.⁴⁴ This is the *dikē* of the race track, the right road and the wrong road, but more important it is the binding link between the *logoi* and the aphorisms, and the agricultural calendar. The earlier portion of the poem sets forth the inevitability of man's life but Hesiod by establishing the ideas of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, imposed a notion of freedom and choice upon the basic sense of the *logoi*. Man like the nightingale is caught in the talons of the hawk, but if he knows it, can learn the nature of this power, he has in some sense mastered it to his own advantage. To the ideas of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, Hesiod conspicuously adds and often reiterates the temporal dimension of "timely" and "untimely." The hawk's talons are the rhythm of agricultural life, from which there is no escape.⁴⁵ If one can live by it, accepting it and the equally inevitable necessity of work, one becomes rich, god-blessed. The third section of the poem at first seems only to restate the basic premise of the first section, the necessity of work. But

⁴³ As Lambert (above, n. 20) remarks about a kind of Babylonian Job-poem "the orthodox friend in the *Theodicy* never seems to tire of telling the unfortunate sufferer that piety brings prosperity."

⁴⁴ Sinclair (above, n. 23) note on 249, p. 29.

⁴⁵ von Groningen (above, n. 1), 297: "il y a pour toute occupation un moment juste, ce qui est encore une loi de Zeus."

the wisdom is more than that; it is traditional proof of the nature of the just life. It is not at all a guide to agriculture or clean living. The calendar is much too incomplete and the maxims are random and incoherent; rather it is proof of the nature of *dikē*, of the very existence of *dikē* because it shows the pattern of inexorability which man can know and become triumphant in his acceptance of it. These are the "spiritual exercises," so to speak. Work is the actualization of them. In the *Works and Days* Hesiod like Homer seems to show a characteristic of the Greek mind when juxtaposed and compared to the mentalities of the East. The poet of the *Iliad* is preoccupied with the problem of death, which nullifies the importance or dignity of human existence. The poets of the Gilgamesh tradition approached this problem, too, but as far as we know they never overcame the sense of desolation. Homer's Achilles, however, by his actions, his heroism, if you will, creates an existence that is equal to death. Achilles forces meaning on life. This is man's humanization of death. For men in the tradition of Hesiod, incessant agricultural labor, hard work, nature's forces — these are the living death, life's nullification. Death itself is not even a problem. The pessimistic wisdom literature of the East often prefers death in fact to the incessant routine of life. Hesiod has, however, taken the tradition, reshaped it, and imposed upon work meaning and dignity.

I think that before the days of the fashion of ambiguity and the camp chic of paradox one might have called Hesiod muddle-headed. Thus one might say that this reading of the *Works and Days* is overly contrived. But I believe that we are faced with an important poetic principle. One can indeed see the same sort of lurching style, the same density in Lucretius, which makes one wonder whether the latter poet was being imitative or the attempt at sustained intimations of intellectualism in verse leads to or depends upon such vagaries of thought and structure. The poetic principle has to do exactly with the nature of structuring quasi-ideas in verse. The strength of wisdom poetry of this sort lies in its accommodating so many changes and turns of thought. One finds this tendency in Hesiod much refined in the choral odes of fifth-century tragedies. Upon reflection one must admit that the validity of pre-logical thought has its strength in confusion; and it is this very confusion that not only makes such poetry a more immediate and honest expression of human thought but also allows for the possibility of daring juxtapositions and combinations that architectonic philosophic discourse cannot tolerate.

PINDAR *Fr.* 169

HUGH LLOYD-JONES

“**L**AW the king of all, of mortals and immortals, leads them, making just what is most violent with arm supreme. My witness is the acts of Heracles; for he drove the cattle of Geryones to the Cyclopean portal of Eurystheus, without . . . or wage.”

These words have long been known from Plato's quotation in the *Gorgias*, where Callicles, the defender of *Realpolitik*, uses them to support the right of the stronger to rule over the weaker. The Platonic quotation is supplemented by others in Aristides (*Orat.* 45) and in the apology for Socrates which Libanius composed in the fourth century A.D. to answer the accusation of the sophist Polycrates written in the fourth century B.C. Both later writers cite the poem in the course of debates which echo that in Plato; both follow Plato in their interpretation.

It has long been agreed that Plato — not only in the *Gorgias*, but in other places where he quotes the fragment — grossly misinterprets Pindar. He is simply making use of the poem for his own purposes, as other sophists of the fifth and fourth centuries were accustomed to use the poetry they quoted. Whatever the *nomos* is that justifies the violent act of Heracles, it cannot be the right of the stronger; Pindar was no immoralist after the fashion of Callicles.

But what was the *nomos* in question? The point has long been debated, and the debate has not been ended by Lobel's publication, in 1961, of extensive fragments of the same poem contained in a papyrus of the first or early second century A.D.

A full bibliography of the discussion before 1956 is provided by M. Gigante, *Νόμος βασιλεύς*: Ricerche filol. I Naples, 1956, 79–92; cf. E. Wolf, *Griechisches Rechtsdenken II*, Frankfurt 1952, 190f, cf. E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars*, Diss., Innsbruck 1957, 118, and E. R. Dodds, *Plato, Gorgias*, Oxford 1959, 270f.

“P. Oxy. 2450” *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXVI, ed. E. Lobel (1961) 141, with Plate XVa and b.

D. L. Page, *Proc. Cam. Phil. Soc.* 199 (1962) 49f.

H.-J. Mette, *Glotta* 40 (1963) 42f.

- E. G. Turner, *CR* 13 (1963) 269.
 M. Treu, *RhM* 106 (1963) 212f.
 B. A. Van Groningen, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 129.
 C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 74f.
 C. O. Pavese, *Maia* 16 (1964) 311f.
 B. Snell, *Pindar* II (Leipzig 1964) 122f (fr. 169).
 M. Ostwald, *HSCP* 69 (1965) 109f = *Pindaros und Bakchylides*,
 Wege der Forschung, Band 134, ed. W. M. Calder III and
 J. Stern (1970) 194f.
 W. Theiler, *MusHelv* 22 (1965) 69f = *Untersuchungen zur antiken*
Literatur (1970) 192f.
 M. Treu, 'Επιστημονική Ένετηρίς τῆς Φιλολογικῆς Σχολῆς Thes-
 salonica, Tomos Θ (1965) 207f (esp. 221f).
 Paola Bernardini, *Quad. Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 2 (1966) 185f.
 M. Gigante, *Atti del XI. Congresso di Papirologia*, Milan (1966)
 286f.
 C. O. Pavese, *HSCP* 72 (1968) 47f.
 W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge 1969)
 III 131f.

H. Schmitz, *Hypsos und Bios* (Bern 1970) 41f.

Here is an adaptation of the text printed by Snell:

- A' Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς
 θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
 3 ἄγχι δικαίων τὸ βiaiότατον
 ὑπερτάτα χειρί. τεκμαίρομαι
 5 ἔργοισιν Ἑρακλέος.
 col. 2 6 ἐπεὶ Γηρυόνα₁ βόας
 Κυκ'λώπειον ἐπὶ π'ρόθυρον₁ν₁ Εἰῡρσιθ'έος
 × (?)— — —] κ₁αὶ ἀπ'ριάτας ἔλασεν,
 9 — ??] Διομήδεος ἵππους
 10 — ? μ]όναρχον Κ[ι]κόνων
 παρὰ] Βιστο₁νίδι λίμνα
 12 χαλκοθώρ]ακος Ἐνναλίου
 υ υ —] ἔκπαγ'λον υἷόν
 υ υ υ] . ιαντα μέγαν
 15 — οὐ κό]ρω ἀλλ' ἄρετῃ.
 3 υ — γ]ᾶρ ἀρπαζομένων τεθνάμεν:
 × —]μάτων ἧ κακὸν ἔμμεναι.

- —]εσελθὼν μέγα
⁶ — ν]υκτὶ βίας ὁδόν
 20]ρε{ν}, λαβὼν δ' ἔν[α] φῶ[τ]α πεδά<ρ>σιον
 φά[τ]ιναις] ἐν λιθίναις βάλ[υ — υ —
⁹ ἱππο[ι]]έγαν φρέ[ν υ — —
 καί μ[ιν]]. ζον. ταχέως
 δ' ἀράβη[σε] διὰ [λ]ευκῶν
 25 ¹² ὅστ'έ[ων] δοῦπος ἐ[ρ]<ε>ικομένων.
 ὁ δ' ἄφ[αρ π]λεκτόν τε χαλκόν
 ὑπερη[. .].ε τραπέζαν
 προβά[τω]ν ἄλυσσιωτόν
³ δι' ἐρκ[έ]ων, τεῖρε δὲ στερεῶ<ς>
 30 ἄλλαν [μ]έν σκέλος, ἄλλαν δὲ πᾶχ[υν,
 τὰν δὲ πυμνὸν κεφαλᾶς
⁶ ὀδ[ά]ξ α[ῦ]χένα φέροισαν.
 .ρ.μ[ι] [] δ' ὁμως ἐ[]σ' ὑπα[. .].θυ[.]
 πικρο[τά]τ'αυ κλάγεν ἀγγε[λίας]ν
 35 ⁹ ζαμενε[]τυραν[]
 ποι]κίλω[ν ἐ]κ λεχέω[ν ἀπέ]δ[ε]ιλ[ος
]ν καθε[.] s ῥᾶ[.]
]ιον κακ[]
].ον εἰ[]
 . . .
 col. 3 40 .νατ[]ν[.]
 B') —
 ἔμολε[.]αι παῖδα[υ —]
 Ἑρακλ[έ]ος ἐξα[. .].[.]
³ τεταγμ[ένον] τουτά[. . .]εκατ[.]
 Ἑρας ἐφετ[μαῖς]. Σθενέλο[ι]ό μιν
 45 υἱὸς κέ[λ]ευσε<ν> μόνον
⁶ ἄνευ συ[μμ]αχίας ἵμεν.
 καὶ Ἰόλαο[ς] εἰ]ν ἑπταπύλοισι μένω[ν] τε
 Θήβαις] Ἀμφιτρύωνί τε σᾶμα χέω[ν]
⁹ — ? ? υ]μιᾶ δ' ἐπὶ θήκα
 50]ν καλλικέρας
]άδης, οὓς οἱ
¹²]ον στρατὸς οὐκ ἀέκ[ων
 . . .]. αθ[.]όντ[.]κ[. .].ᾶ
]φέ[. .].[]ρμα[.]

55	] .ωπρρ[	] λιμ[	] ν
	³] .νεκκ[		] .πολ[
	] υρεκκ[		] αμον
	] .οσ[]
	⁶] υσ'ε[		] .ενογ
60	] ελ[		] .νδέμ[
	] .[		] .έκ[
	⁹] .[
			...

From the papyrus we gain, in whole or in part, almost fifty new verses. The guess that the quotation contained the beginning of the poem seems to be confirmed. We learn that from the brief mention of Heracles' violence against Geryoness. Pindar went on to a more detailed account of his attack upon another monster, Diomedes, the Thracian king who fed his mares on human flesh.

As Lobel says (p. 141), the poem seems likeliest to be a dithyramb. Let us go through it, line by line.

If To dignify some particular abstraction by conferring on it Zeus' title of "ruler of gods and men" seems to have been a poetical commonplace. Pindar calls Time "father of all things" (*Ol.* 2.17) and again "lord, supreme over all the blessed ones" (*fr.* 33); Heraclitus calls War "the father of all things and the king of all things" (*fr.* 53 Diels-Kranz = 29 Marcovich); in a famous speech from Euripides' *Andromeda* Love is addressed as "tyrant of gods and men" (*fr.* 136 Nauck²). Pindar, of course, likes to begin a poem with a striking pronouncement such as this; compare, for instance, the opening of the sixth Nemean ode with *ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν θεῶν γένος*. [See the end of this article.]

What is the object of the verb *ἄγει*? Schroeder seems to have thought it was *τὸ βιαίότατον*: he renders "lenkt rechtfertigend das Gewalttätigste." So do Dodds (270: "conducts the uttermost violence") and Ostwald (117: "brings on . . . what is most violent"). Pavese (II.57) thinks the verb is used absolutely, adducing parallels to show that it may be used absolutely of "leading" by a divine agency. But in all the passages he quotes it is easy to supply an object; and so it is here. That object is surely to be supplied from *θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων*. Nomos leads all mortals and immortals as he will. Compare *Nem.* 11.42 *καὶ θνατὸν οὕτως ἔθνος ἄγει μοῖρα*. *τὸ βιαίότατον* is the object of *δικαιῶν*, not of *ἄγει*.

Plato has *βιαιῶν τὸ δικαιοτάτον*; so has Libanius, doubtless taking his text from a manuscript of Plato. That cannot be what Pindar wrote.

βιαιόω occurs nowhere else. Dodds in his commentary on the *Gorgias* (p. 275) has sufficiently refuted the view of Wilamowitz that Pindar might have used it; Theiler's attempt at a defence (69f = 192f) is not convincing.

δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον just suits the context. δικαιῶν is a factitive; its form suggests that it means "makes just." Turyn (see p. 351 of his edition) objects that in other places it means "bring to justice" (see, e.g., Fraenkel, *Agamemnon* 2.203); but the verb is not common, and there is no reason why Pindar should not use it in its basic sense. It is natural to use βιαιότατον of the action of Heracles; in the *Iliad* he is commonly referred to as βίη Ἡρακλεείη. So we arrive at the sense "making just what is most violent."

Here we must notice an interpretation put forward by Pavese in an article that provides more useful information to illustrate the text than any other so far published. He translates "bringing violence to justice"; Law, he thinks, in the person of Heracles, brings to justice the evil deeds of Diomedes.

The obvious objection is that at 1.15 below Diomedes is said to have resisted Heracles "not in insolence but in ἀρετά." That interpretation is confirmed by the scholion in the papyrus, which is convincingly restored to mean "not by way of insolence but for the sake of ἀρετή. For not to let go of one's own property shows courage, not insolence; and Heracles was acting unjustly in taking it away."

This objection Pavese tries to circumvent by arguing that the subject of the sentence in 1.15 is not Diomedes, but Heracles. The sentence is indeed fragmentary; and Pavese might be right, were it not that the following words utterly destroy his case. "For it is better," the sense in 1.16f must be, "to die in defense of possessions that are being seized than to be a coward." The supplement γ]ὰρ can hardly be avoided, and once it is accepted Pavese's argument collapses.

With ὑπερτάται χειρί, "with arm supreme," Pavese well compares Sophocles, *El.* 1090f —

ζώιης μου καθύπερθεν
 χερὶ πλούτῳ τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅσον
 νῦν ὑπόχειρ ναίεις.

and Euripides, *Bacchae*, 899f —

τί τὸ σοφόν, ἢ τί τὸ κάλλιον
 παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς
 ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κατέχειν;

4 τεκμαίρομαι ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος For this manner of expression, compare *Nem.* 6.8 τεκμαίρει καὶ νῦν Ἀλκιμίδας. As often, ἔργα implies “mighty deeds,” those of a god or hero. After this sentence, it is easy to see that ἐπεὶ in 1.6 is causal.

7 The quotation in Aristides has genitive plurals; the papyrus has accusatives. Which is right? At 1.20 the responsion gives no help; but 1.47 favours the accusatives, for if we can assume a synizesis, καϊόλαος can respond with κυκλώπειον. The accusatives involve us, it is true, in the difficulty of having to scan the last syllable of πρόθυρον as long; though unusual, this is not unparalleled. On either view, the long first syllable of Εὐρυσθέος must respond with two shorts; that, again, would be unusual but not unique.

Both Tiryns and Mycenae are “Cyclopean”. Tiryns is often specially associated with Heracles, but Mycenae is the seat of Eurystheus; Κυκλώπων ἔδος is Mycenae, according to Hesychius 4483 Latte. At *Ol.* 13.5 Corinth is called Ἰσθμίου πρόθυρον Ποτειδᾶνος, but here it seems, πρόθυρον Εὐρυσθέος means literally “Eurystheus’ portal.”

8 Boeckh’s supplement ἀναιτήτας long held the field; it is now ruled out by the need to respond with 11.21 and 48. Plato paraphrases οὔτε πριάμενος οὔτε δόντος τοῦ, Aristides οὔτε αἰτήσας οὔτε πριάμενος, the Aristides scholia †ἀναιρεῖται† καὶ ἀπριάτας. There is hardly room for Theiler’s αἰτητάς, which Guthrie accepts. Page and Mette have independently thought of ἀνατεί from ἄτη, “without harm.” That hardly fits the paraphrases, and is in any case unusual. I prefer Page’s other suggestion, ἀναιτί. He notes the confusion between ἀναιτος and ἀνατος at Sophocles, *O.C.* 786; οὔπε αἰτήσας might, as he says be a paraphrase of ἀναιτί, but certainly cannot be retained.

9 Responsion with 1.22 indicates that this line began with two long syllables; Page supplies them with κεῖνος καὶ (οὔτος καὶ Snell); he has a main verb (ἔκλεψε) in 1.10 and a participle (δαμάσας) in 1.13. Snell starts 1.9 with καὶ κλυτὰς] assuming the second syllable to be anceps; supplies τὸν γὰρ at the beginning of 1.10; and supplies the main verb (“ἀπάτησ’ *sim.*”) in 1.13. I prefer Page’s arrangement, which features a type of καὶ common in similar transitions; cf., e.g., *Od.* 21.295 οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον. . . . Lobel’s supplements of 11.11 and 12 are accepted by both, and seem hardly avoidable. χαλκοθώραξ is the epithet of Abderus at the beginning of the second paean (*fr.* 52b), and of Enyalios at Sophocles, *Ajax*, 179.

13 responds with 26; Page’s δαμάσας is best, but if one wants a main verb, Gigante’s ἐδάμασσ’ is better than Snell’s ἀπάτησ’.

14–15 respond with 1–2 and with 41–42. Of the first two letters printed

by Snell, I can make out neither iota nor alpha with confidence. Page reads Διὸς ὑπο]στάντα μέγαν | παῖδ' οὐ κό]ρῳι ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖ. Snell offers νόον ἀεῖ]ραντα, Mette and Pavese χόλον ἀεῖ]ραντα: their supplements would allow the next line to start οὐ μὲν (Snell, Gigante) or οὐ σὺν (Pavese); though if νόον ἀεῖ]ραντα were correct, one might expect the next line to start ἄντ' οὐ κό]ρῳι, κτλ. The general sense is clear; Diomedes resisted Heracles (not Heracles Diomedes; see above), in the words of the scholion as interpreted by Lobel — οὐκ ἐπὶ ὕβρει ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα. τὸ γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ προίεσθαι ἀνδρείου ἐστὶ. . . ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕβριστοῦ. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἡδίκηκε ἀφελόμενος.

The Bistonian Lake is the usual location of Diomedes, as in Euripides, *Alcestis*, 485; according to Strabo 7 fr. 66 and Aelian *Nat. Anim.* 15.25, the ruins of his palace were shown in that locality. Biston was the son of Cicon, according to Philostephanus fr. 7 Müller III.30; the Cicones lived in Bistonia, according to the Orphic *Argonautica* (77). Diomedes was the son of Ares and Cyllene, according to Apollodorus II.5.8; Enyalios often appears as a synonym for Ares.

15–16 are paraphrased by Aristides οὐ γὰρ εἰκός φησιν ἀρπαζομένων τῶν ὄντων καθῆσθαι παρ' ἐστία καὶ κακὸν εἶναι. Page's κρέσσον is superior to other supplements; at 16, I prefer Gigante's πρὸ κτη]μάτων to Page's πρὸ χρη]μάτων, but either may be right.

18–19 Snell has στέγος δ'] in 18 and κρυφᾶν in 19, Page κρύβδαν in 18, and (σ)τέγος in 19. Since the reader has been prepared for a narration, asyndeton is in order, and Page's supplements are superior. But I do not care for the compound νυκτιβίᾱς which Page posits in 19, continuing ὁδὸν | ὕβριος εὖ]ρε. "By night found the way of violence" makes good sense: remember τὸ βιαιότατον at 1.3, and compare *Ol.* 1.110 εὐρών ὁδὸν λόγων. Gigante rightly insists that Heracles would hardly be said to have committed *hybris*. Before νυκτὶ, something like Theiler's ἥρως might be right.

20 Lobel's πεδά[ρ]σιον suits the sense better than Snell's πεδάσα[ις]. Its drawback is that it requires us to supply two syllables at the end of 1.47 that are not easy to guess, unless one agrees with Pavese in accepting the semiconsonantal treatment of iota here.

21 Diodorus 4.15 says that the mangers were of bronze and the halters of iron; Heracles keeps them busy till he can unfasten them by the simple expedient of seizing a groom and hurling him into the manger. In 1.22 the accent of the papyrus indicates that μαινομ]έναν or whatever stood here, is an accusative, and I do not see why some make it genitive. Page suggests ὠμοστάτας | ἵππω[ν μαινομ]έναν φρέ[νας ᾄσαι: he writes μαινομ]έναν, but seems to take the word as genitive. I should prefer

something like ὠμοτατᾶν (or λαβροτατᾶν) | ἵππω[ν μαινομεν]έναν φρέ[να τέρπειν: compare μαινομένας φρασίν at *Pyth.* 2.26.

23 Page gives κερά]ιζον, Snell ἐλάκ]ιζον or λάκ]ιζον: the metre does not help to decide between the two latter possibilities.

24 Does the sound of bones splintering ring out "through the white bones," or must we change the accent of the papyrus and accent διαλεύκων from διάλευκος? To this adjective Pavese objects that it is found in late prose only, and means not "white" but "transparent." It can mean "mixed with white" or "with white spots"; and it could mean "very white" (see R. Strömberg, *Greek Prefix Studies* [Göteborg 1946] 161). The latter meaning is expressly attested by Philo *περὶ τοῦ θεοπέμπτους εἶναι τοὺς ὀνειρούς* I, 35 (p. 248 Cohn-Wendland), who says διάλευκοι μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶν οἱ τηλανγέστατοι καὶ ἀριδηλότατοι, τοῦ δια πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τιθεμένου, ἃφ' οὗ διάδηλον καὶ διάσημον τὸ μέγας δῆλον καὶ μέγας ἐπίσημον ἔθος ὀνομάζειν ἐστι. Philo's parallels seem to indicate that there is nothing specifically "late" about the use of δια- involved in this compound. But I still suspect that Pavese is right in suggesting that "the sound cracked through the rending bones" is a Pindaric way of saying that "rending bones cracked." To me it seems an extremely expressive way of saying it.

26f π]λεκτὸν . . . χαλκόν seems certain; the "entwined bronze" is that of the horses' chain. The chain was made of links; elsewhere the form is always ἄλυσιδωτός, and perhaps we should restore it here. Page's ὑπερή[γν]υε is far the best supplement, and he must be right in taking τραπέζαν to be genitive plural. In 29, δι' ἔρκ[έ]ων presumably means "through the stalls"; the horses were tethered by a single long chain of bronze links running along the line of stalls, which Heracles with his mighty strength was able to break, so that he could control all of them.

29 Perhaps δὲ should be changed to τε. Pavese's notion that στερεῶι may be a mistake for οτελεῶι, meaning Heracles' club, is impossible, for had Heracles been using his club, the verb would not be τεῖρε. Pavese's own translation — "*stung* them [my italics] with his club" — offers the best refutation of his conjecture. Either Page and Snell are right in reading στερεῶ<ς>, which makes good sense; or, as Page suggests, after Lobel, something has dropped out.

30-32 Each of the horses is busy devouring some part of the unfortunate groom. A cup fragment of the Campana collection by Olto, adduced by Pavese (first in *Maia* n.s. 16 [1964] 311f), well illustrates the scene although I do not think the club, visible on the vase, has been mentioned by Pindar.

Lobel points out that *πρυμνός* is not found with a defining genitive, and therefore takes *πρυμνόν* as a noun, with *αὐχένα* in apposition, comparing *πρυμνόν* . . . *θέναρος* with *Il.* 5.339 and *πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ* at *Pyth.* 5.93. This may be right, but one cannot rule out the possibility that *πρυμνός* may be construed with a defining genitive, as *ἔσχατος* may.

28 By comparing *fr.* 2 with 11.28–35, Lobel obtains the reading —

.ρ.μ[ι]. ὁμωσε[.]σ' υπα.[.].θυ.[

Treu boldly conjectures that the person who cried out the bitter news to the fierce tyrant was Eremia; Theiler agrees with him. My courage fails me.

34 Pindar elsewhere has *ἔκλαγξα*, but since Bacchylides has *ἔκλαγον* three times, it is not surprising to find it here.

36 The *ποικίλα λέχη* reminds me that Dio Chrysostom (p. 150, II Dindorf) represents Diomedes as something of a luxury-lover: *ποικίλην εἶχεν ἐσθῆτα καὶ καθῆσθ' ἐπὶ θρόνου πίνων δι' ἡμέρας καὶ τρυφῶν*. Lobel quotes the two passages of Pindar in which Alcmena starts up *ἀπέδιλος* at the approach of the snakes (*Nem.* 1.50 and *Paeon* 20.14); he clearly thought also of Aeschylus, *PV* 135, where the Oceanids tell Prometheus how they have come shoeless in their winged car (or cars).

37–40 I can do nothing here; Pavese has thought of *κάθελε*, which would describe what Heracles did to Diomedes.

41f The sentence must have had a subject, and also a genitive going with *παῖδα*: perhaps it may have run over from the preceding epode. Something came upon the son of someone, Heracles being mentioned in the genitive. *παῖδ'* may well have been followed by a short and then a long syllable; that would be consonant with *παῖδ'* "A[ρεως, and Ares was father of Diomedes. In 42, Pavese's ingenious supplement *ἐξάριθ[μ]ο[ν]* — "there came upon the son (of Ares) (a labour) of Heracles appointed outside the number" — depends upon a somewhat doubtful interpretation of the traces, and upon the possibility that the preceding epode contained a neuter word that could indicate a labour, such as *ἄεθλον*. Placing a high point after *τεταγμένον*, Pavese, following a suggestion of Lobel, goes on *τοῦτ' ἀρ[α δωδ]έκατον*. The difficulty here is that the high point after *ἐφετμαῖς*, whose existence Pavese denies, does seem to be in the papyrus. There seems to be a reference to the story told by Apollodorus that there were originally to have been ten labours, but that twelve had to be performed because Eurystheus refused to count two in which Heracles had received assistance.

47 Iolaus himself was buried in the tomb of Amphitryon (*Pyth.* 9.81f; cf. Σ *Ol.* 9.98 and Σ *N.* 4.20).

49 *θήκαι* is presumably the tomb; Pavese suggests that *καλλικέρας* in 1.15 is an epithet of beasts sacrificed to the hero.

52 Pavese cites *Nem.* 4.21: *Καδμείοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἄνθεσι μείγνυνον*: Gigante conjectures *Κάδμου στρατὸς*.

Metre Pavese calls the metre "aeolic"; Theiler calls it "free dactylo-epitrites." Neither name helps much. Here is an analysis in terms of the notation devised for Pindar's poems not in dactylo-epitrite by A. M. Dale, *Collected Papers*, 41-97 (see especially p. 63f).

1	υ υ υ —	|	— υ υ —	τ s	|	d	
2		|	— υ υ — υ υ —			— d d	
3	υ — υ —	|	— υ υ — υ υ —			υ s	| d d
4	υ — υ —	|	— υ υ — υ —		x s	| d s	cf. <i>Ol.</i> 10, str. 2;
5	— — υ —	|	— υ υ — — s	|	s		<i>Pyth.</i> 8 str. 4.
6	υ —	|	— υ υ — υ υ	Λ s	|	d s	cf. <i>Ol.</i> 1, str. 1.
7	— υ υ	|	— υ υ — υ υ υ	— — —		Λ \bar{s}	| d d — | \bar{s}
8	υ —	|	— υ υ — υ υ —	υ υ —		Λ s	| d d | d
9	— —	|	(?) υ υ — υ υ —	—		Λ \bar{s}	d d —
10	—	|	(?) υ υ — — υ υ —	—		— (d?)	| d
11	υ υ —	|	υ υ υ — —			Λ d s	—
12	— υ —	|	— υ υ — υ υ —			s	| d d
13	υ υ — —	|	— υ — —			— d — s —	

Miss L. P. E. Parker (Mrs. Edwards) to whom I am much indebted for a discussion of the metre, writes:

"Two features in particular strike me. 1. Choriambic phrases preceded by true long (not anceps): e.g. 1, 3, 4, 12 and (probably) 10-11. I can find no other poem in which this happens so frequently, but it does happen, e.g. at *Ol.* 10 str. v.2 and at *Pyth.* 8 str. v. 4 (both $\bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} -$) and at *Ol.* 8, ep. v.7 ($- \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} -$).

"2. $- \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} -$ preceded by a sort of aeolic base: e.g. 8 and cf. 7 (the departure from the pattern both involve proper names). $\bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} -$ seems comprehensible in context, with $\bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} -$ (cf. *Ol.* 1.1) two cola earlier. Something very like $- \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} - \bar{u} -$ seems to be a motive in *Ol.* 5 (note str. v. 1, str. v. 2, ep. v. 1, and ep. v. 2 (2 + 3 Bowra)).

"3. Finally, with the end of 10-11, compare *Nem.* 6, str. v. 6 (*καίπερ ἐφαμερίαν οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μετὰ νύκτας*)."

Let us now return to the central question; what was the *nomos* held to justify the conduct of Heracles? Many different theories have been put forward, but in essence they fall into two groups.

The first group takes *nomos* in this place to mean "custom" or "usage." Before the publication of the papyrus, this kind of view was taken by Wilamowitz (*Platon* II¹, 1919 = ³1962, 95; *Pindaros* [1922] 462), Ehrenberg (*Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum*, [1921] 119), Latte (*Kl. Schr.* 246), and Pohlenz (*Philologus* 97 [1948] 139 = *Kl. Schr.* II, 337). The action, it is argued, was in itself unjust, but we are used to considering Heracles as good and Diomedes as bad. Since the publication of the papyrus, Theiler and Bowra have defended the view of Wilamowitz; Ostwald by a complicated argument has maintained that *nomos* denotes "the attitude traditionally or conventionally taken to a norm" (p. 134), which seems to me much the same thing.

The other kind of view is that *nomos* here means the law of the universe, and particularly the law of Zeus. Schroeder, *Philologus* 74 (1917) 202, argues that *nomos* here came close to the meaning of *moira* or *ananke*, meaning in effect "a male goddess of fate." A similar position was defended at greater length by H. E. Stier, *Philologus* 83 (1928) 227f; he thought *nomos* meant "an inviolable order, which dominates the belief and will of gods and men." In recent times this kind of view has been taken by Lesky in 1950 (*Oester. Zeitsch. f. öffentliches Recht* 2 [1949] 588f = *Ges. Schr.* 493) by Gigante in 1956 and again in 1966, by Dodds in 1959, by Treu in 1963, and by Guthrie in 1969.

The holders of the first type of view, it seems to me, have made the mistake of not relating this passage to the attitudes found in Pindar's work in general. Pindar, like other believers in his religion, honoured Heracles as a great benefactor of mankind; in suppressing monsters like Geryones or Diomedes, he was not merely doing the bidding of Eurystheus or of Hera, but carrying out the will of Zeus. Gigante has abundantly illustrated this from Pindar's works; in particular, he stresses the prophecy of Tiresias in the First Nemean Ode, which tells how many monsters, ignorant of justice, Heracles by sea and land shall slay. Like the Cyclopes and Laistrygones in Homer, Geryones and Diomedes live outside the *themistes*; they are outlaws, monsters, whom any man valiant enough to challenge them can earn glory by killing.

What was abnormal, in the eyes of a believer in the Olympic religion such as Pindar, about these particular actions of Heracles? It was surely that in these two cases Heracles was the aggressor; neither Geryones nor Diomedes had provoked him. It was a commonplace of Greek

thought that the aggressor, he who "began unjust violence" (*ἀρχεῖν ἀδίκων χειρῶν*) was to blame. Yet in these two instances Heracles undoubtedly delivered an unprovoked attack. Yet did not Heracles act justly? Surely he did, Pindar answered, for in attacking these common enemies of gods and men, Heracles was carrying out the will of Zeus, and helping to enforce the order of the universe. Fragment 81 — "I praise you in comparison with him, Geryones, but I am silent altogether about what Zeus does not approve" — seems to provide an exact parallel.

Why, it may be asked, did Pindar not say he was justified by Themis or Dike; why Nomos? Before the fifth century, Themis or Dike would doubtless have been preferred in such a context. But at this time the praises of Zeus' Law were often sung. Already in Hesiod, Eunomia with Dike and Eirene is one of the Horai, daughters of Zeus and Themis; as such she is prominent in the First Pythian Ode, where Pindar is praising the founder of the just city of Aitna. As the polis developed, law and law-abidingness acquired a special sanctity. But human law was only an extension of the divine law; Pindar, like Sophocles, would have agreed with Heraclitus that "all human laws are nurtured by one divine law." Some of Pindar's contemporaries, it is true, contrasted Nomos unfavourably with Physis, but Pindar took little notice of such people. In using Nomos with reference to the will of Zeus he was not acting under "Orphic" influence, whatever that might be supposed to mean. Law for him was identical with the will of Zeus.

I add a note about an argument which Guthrie (*A History of Greek Philosophy* III, p. 133) seems to think decisive. "All these interpretations," he writes, speaking of the interpretations which, like my own, take *nomos* in the poem to mean the law of the universe, the law of Zeus, "seem to ignore what Pindar plainly says: not that *nomos* is the will of Zeus, but that even Zeus is subject to *nomos*, which lords it over gods as well as men." Pindar does not "plainly say" that "even Zeus is subject to *nomos*"; he gives *nomos* the title of "king of gods and men." That title is commonly given to Zeus, so that a hearer would very likely infer that Zeus' *nomos* was in question. Zeus is, in a sense, subject to his own *nomos*; in the *Iliad*, for example, he thinks of saving from death his son Sarpedon, but in the end declines to sacrifice to a sudden whim his own settled policy. I cannot, therefore, share Guthrie's confidence in this argument.

AESCHYLEAN SILENCES AND SILENCES IN AESCHYLUS

OLIVER TAPLIN

I

NOT everyone in a play can talk all the time. Indeed in most plays most of the characters are silent most of the time. But routine and necessary silences are not as a rule of any dramatic significance. No attention is drawn to them, and we do not notice them. On the other hand dramatists have discovered and demonstrated that a silence can be imbued with significance; that it can say more, on occasion, than ever words could say. When a silence means something, the attention of the audience is directed to it; they are invited to consider its significance. Such a silence is no mere technical necessity; it is a meaningful part of the play. This basic distinction between silences which are and are not significant, which do and do not have attention drawn to them, is vital. Of course, there are silences which have to be seen as in some way between the two extremes — I shall be considering some of these later — but the distinction remains. Scholars of Greek tragedy, and particularly of Aeschylus, have not properly recognised the distinction, and this has led to some foolish doctrines, and to the neglect of some important arguments.¹

In the theatre today silences are usually total: there is a hiatus, during which nobody speaks. Most previous theatres, including the Greek theatre, have generally avoided empty pauses, and have tended to a continuity of sound. In surviving Attic tragedy there is scarcely anywhere, so far as I can see, where the text obliges us to suppose a total silence of more than a few seconds.² In these circumstances other

¹ The entire dissertation of F. W. Dignán, *The Idle Actor in Aeschylus* (Chicago 1905), is vitiated by the failure to make this distinction, though it still has some good points. Dignán was attacked on these grounds by J. T. Allen in *CQ* 1 (1907) 268ff.

² Often we can see that some lines are there partly in order to cover or bridge over a potential pause. Modern commentators (and ancient ones too, e.g. schol. on Aesch. *Agam.* 22) often introduce longer pauses; but on their own initiative and without due foundation in the text. I shall be considering some instances from Aeschylus later in this paper. A sure exception, which uses a unique and highly effective technique, occurs at *Eum.* 33-34.

characters must continue to talk (or sing) while a silent character is on the stage. When the silence is an important one, the other characters will talk about the silent person and his silence. For example, they can talk about how long the person has been silent, and why he is silent; or, if they do not know why, they can speculate on the motive. They can address the silent person, ask him why he is silent, plead, console, torment — and meet with no reply. They can anticipate when and how he will break his silence; and can beg him to break it. And so the breaking of the silence can become an important moment. The silent person's first lines may reflect, or may somehow belie, the emotions which underlay his silence.

By way of an approach to the dramatic technique of Aeschylus' silences, I shall illustrate these possibilities by the silence of Pericles in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* V, i (a scene which is by Shakespeare beyond all doubt). Before Pericles is seen, Helicanus tells Lysimachus how Pericles is "A man who for this three months hath not spoken / To anyone, nor taken sustenance / But to prorogue his grief" (24-26). When he is revealed, Lysimachus greets him (38ff), but in vain. He gives orders for a certain girl to be brought who, if anyone, could revive him (44ff cf. 71ff). Helicanus insists that it will be useless (52ff). The girl is Marina, Pericles' daughter, supposed dead. First she sings to Pericles (81), but to no avail. When she speaks, he utters some incoherent noises (84). She then tells him how she has suffered; but she seems still to be unsuccessful. She says (95ff) "I will desist; / But there is something glows upon my cheek, / And whispers in mine ear 'Go not till he speak.'" Pericles then addresses her in disjointed phrases (98ff), and perhaps strikes her.³ But this roughness wears off as Marina's story unfolds. As his daughter brings him back from the dead, and gives him a new life (see 199, 212), Pericles utters lines so tender and so eager, that even Shakespeare produced few so touching. Finally he falls to sleep as he hears "the music of the spheres" (234).

II

ARISTOPHANES' *Frogs* AND AESCHYLUS' *Myrmidones*

Aeschylus is famous for his silences. Yet, curiously, this fame rests not on the surviving plays, but on Aristophanes' *Frogs* 905ff. It should

³ Marina talks of his violence in 101, and so does Pericles himself in 129f. The text is not in a good state; see J. C. Maxwell's edition (Cambridge 1956) *Introduction*, especially p. xv f. Line numbers are taken from this edition.

never be forgotten that Aristophanes has constructed his scene round a contrast between the silences of Aeschylus' characters and the talkativeness of Euripides' characters (see especially 916f, 939ff, 954ff). Yet, even bearing in mind this overriding comic distortion, and even taking into account all the minor jokes and twists that are made in passing, we can still tell from *Frogs* a certain amount about the Aeschylean silences of Achilles and Niobe. Above all it is clear that they were significant silences, silences which were the centre of attention.

The Achilles and Niobe plays of Aeschylus were authoritatively treated by Hermann,⁴ and little substantial progress was made for over a century. But papyrus fragments published since 1933, the latest as recently as 1966, have complicated and fogged the picture. In view of this it is worth once more sifting through *Frogs* for hints about these lost plays. This is not Aristophanes of Byzantium: our Aristophanes can no more be taken at face value as a source for the history of literature than for the history of politics or philosophy. But he still must have had certain scenes from Aeschylus in mind, and they would have to be recognisable beneath the comedy. So:

πρώτιστα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τιν' ἂν καθίσειν ἐγκαλύψας,
 Ἀχιλλέα τιν' ἢ Νιόβην, τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς,
 πρόσχημα τῆς τραγωδίας, γρύζοντας οὐδὲ τουτί. (*Frogs* 911-913)

First, that is at the beginning of the play, Aeschylus would sit his character on stage. His head was veiled, his face not showing, and he was silent. Further πρόσχημα τῆς τραγωδίας implies (maliciously) that, as we would have to suppose, the veiled silence betokened a tragic emotion. Next the chorus sang a string of lyrics: the character stayed silent (914-915). This seems to mean that the play began with the first choral song, cf. *Pers.*, *Supp.*, *Prom. Luom.*; it is not clear whether it also implies that the character remained silent through further choral songs. All the time the play progressed, Aeschylus made his audience guess when the character would speak (919-920). So attention was on him, and on the breaking of his silence. When the drama was half over in this fashion, ῥήματα' ἂν βόεια δώδεκ' εἶπεν (923-924). Aristophanes' scene then veers off into a "discussion" of Aeschylus' bombastic martial neologisms, which Euripides claims are unintelligible (925-938). So the breaking of the silence was memorable, and was made in characteristic

⁴ Godofredi Hermannii *Opuscula* (Lipsiae 1827-1877, repr. Hildesheim 1970) III p. 37ff (written 1823), and V p. 136ff (first published 1833). Further bibliography in later notes.

Aeschylean language. The martial neologisms presumably belong to Achilles and not to Niobe.

It is not always appreciated that an Aeschylean silence has already been illustrated in miniature earlier in *Frogs*. When the tragedians first enter at 830, Aeschylus will not answer Euripides' opening defiance. Dionysus draws attention to his silence by asking *Αἰσχύλε, τί σιγᾷς*; (832).⁵ Euripides replies for him *ἀποσεμνυνεῖται*⁶ *πρῶτον, ἅπερ ἐκάστοτε / ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν ἑτερατεύετο*.⁷ When Euripides goes on to travesty his long words, Aeschylus can contain his spleen no longer, and bursts out at 840ff with some coinages of his own. So Aeschylus, like his own characters, is silent at first; his silence is given attention, and it betokens strong emotions — pride and indignation. When he breaks his silence, he does so in striking language.

What we know of Niobe in *Niobe* fits well. Ancient scholarship shows that Niobe sat on the tomb of her children, that her head was veiled, that she was silent, and that the emotion behind her silence was overwhelming grief.⁸ In my view, our papyrus fragment of *Niobe* (*PSI* 1208 = 273M = 277Ll-J⁹) fits extremely well into this picture. The column is damaged in just such a way as to allow scholars to put forward a variety of incompatible interpretations.¹⁰ But one of these,

⁵ For this phrase in the context of tragic silences see p. 97 below.

⁶ *σεμνός* and its cognates are used of tragedy in general, as often as not ironically. But the word may have been especially associated with Aeschylus. In the new fragments of Menander's *Aspis* the learned slave Daos cites Aeschylus at l. 414 as *Αἰσχύλος ὁ σεμνός*, cf. Athenaeus 600a καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος δ' Αἰσχύλος . . . The epithet may well go back to *Frogs* 1004 — ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνὰ — which was a famous enough line to be quoted near the beginning of the ancient *Life*. It is possible that this line in turn derives from Gorgias; see Pohlenz *NGG* 1920 p. 163 = *Kl. Schr.* (Hildesheim 1965) II 457.

⁷ *τερατώδης* also has a history in Aeschylean criticism, see *Life* §7; and cf. Kranz *Stasimon* (Berlin 1933) 284. Aeschylus may well be Aristotle's target at *Poetics* 1453b9.

⁸ The sources are the *Life* §6, Eustathius on *Il.* 24.162 and *Od.* 23.115 and the scholia on Aesch. *Prom.* 436. These are collected as fragments 243a, 243b, 243c, 243d, and 212a³ in M. M = *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos* ed. H. J. Mette (Berlin 1959). Mette has added a *Nachtrag* in *Lustrum* 13, 1968, 513ff. Mette's collection, for all its failings (see Lloyd-Jones *CR* [1961] 15f), is learned and complete, and must for want of a better be treated as the standard edition.

⁹ Ll-J = Appendix to the Loeb edition of Aeschylus II 525ff, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones (Cambridge, Mass. 1957).

¹⁰ Full bibliography in Lloyd-Jones (above, n. 9) 556.

namely, that of Schadewaldt,¹¹ is by far the most plausible, and makes the best sense in the light of Aristophanes. On this view the elementary exposition in the lines is firm evidence that the piece comes from early in the play, before Niobe broke her silence. In that case it must be spoken by someone else — a nurse, a confidante, or perhaps Antiope. So at the beginning of the play Niobe will have sat on the tomb, and the chorus will have entered and sung the opening song. Then ?Antiope enters, and in response to the curiosity of the chorus (the “you” of lines 5 and 14) she makes the speech of which we have part. This may well be the first explanation in the play of the seated and veiled figure. Note how even the detail of sitting is confirmed by line 6. And in particular note how Niobe, although silent, is in the foreground of attention throughout the lines.

One small point of dramatic technique should be clarified. Wolff’s supplement of l. 6 of the papyrus τριταῖ]ον ἡμαρ τόνδ’ ἐφημένη τάφον is very likely, and it is corroborated by the paraphrase in the *Life* §6 ἕως τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐπικαθημένη τῷ τάφῳ...¹² But if Niobe has been sitting on the tomb for two days before the play began, then how did she get there at the beginning of the play without the audience seeing her? The simple answer is that they did see her. The Greek theatre had no curtain, and there was no way that a character could be revealed already in position at the beginning of the play.¹³ So the convention arose that the first

¹¹ W. Schadewaldt *SBHeid.* Abh. 3, 1934 = *Hellas u. Hesperien* 2nd ed. (Zürich 1970) I 284ff. Interpretations in English which are substantially the same as Schadewaldt’s are given by Pickard-Cambridge in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford 1936) 106ff, and Fitton-Brown in *CQ* N.S. 4 (1954) 175ff.

¹² This is the reading of all the mss. except M, which has ἕως τρίτον μέρος. But the papyrus suggests that M’s reading is either a scribal error or a clever, but mistaken, emendation; and this is confirmed by the scholion on *Frogs* 911 (see p. 64 below). So the reading in M must be rejected, even though it is becoming increasingly clear that μέρος was the usual technical term for an “act” in antiquity. The newly published late third-century A.D. mosaics from Mytilene (*Antike Kunst* Beiheft 6, Bern 1970) use μέ(ρο)ς as the word to mark the acts of Menander. The term has also turned up in ancient scholarship on comedy in *POxy.* 2086 fr. 1, 12 and 2741 fr. 1B, col. ii, 17. See further J.-M. Jacques *Ménandre La Samienne* (Paris 1971) p. x n. 3. Its use was not restricted to comedy, as is shown by the second *Hypothesis* to Eur. *Andr.*, Arrian *Epict.* 1.24.16, and the *Hypothesis* to Aesch. *Aitnaiai*(?) in *POxy.* 2257 fr. 1 (= 287L1-J = 26M). This makes one look anew at τὸ πρῶτον μέρος used of the prologue at Ar. *Frogs* 1119f. Cf. Leo *Plautinische Forschungen*² (Berlin 1912) 230f.

¹³ Later on in a play a tableau which has already been prepared for in advance might be revealed on the *ekkyklema* (see p. 67 and n. 30 below). K. Reinhardt *Aischylos als Regisseur und Theologe* (Bern 1949) 78 and Webster *BRL* 42

entry of the play should not necessarily be assumed to be an arrival, like all other entries, but that the words of the play should soon make it clear whether it was an arrival or whether it should, so to speak, be erased as though it had not happened.¹⁴ Sometimes it is made clear how long the character is to be imagined to have been in position; sometimes it is left vague. Thus in *Agamemnon* the watchman has been on the lookout for a year (l. 2);¹⁵ and in Euripides' *Orestes* Electra has watched over Orestes for five days (34ff). At the opening of Aristophanes' *Clouds* and *Wasps* the characters have been there all night.¹⁶ So Niobe will simply have walked on and sat down (cf. *ἐνα τιν' ἄν καθίεν*); early in the play it will have been made clear to the audience that they are to imagine that she has been there for two days before the play began. It looks as though we have the very words which told them this in l. 6 of the papyrus fragment.

There is more to say about the silence of Achilles; but the reconstruction of it is complicated. In antiquity there seems to have been a controversy over whether the silence referred to in *Frogs* occurred in Aeschylus' *Μυρμιδόνες* (*Myrm.*) or in his *Φρύγες ἢ Ἐκτορος λύτρα* (*Phr.*). The two plays are usually taken to be the first and third of a connected trilogy, with *Νηρεΐδες* in between.¹⁷ *Myrm.* seems to have been based

(1960) 506 think that Niobe was first revealed on the *ekkuklema*. But my suggestion makes this unnecessary.

¹⁴ The convention is discussed by Wilamowitz *Aischylos Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914) 56ff, Pickard-Cambridge *Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford 1946) 128f, Spitzbarth *Untersuchungen zur Spieltechnik* (Zürich 1946) 41f.

¹⁵ This need not, of course, be taken absolutely literally (no more than the year's watch at *Od.* 4.526). But it does tell the audience that he is to be imagined as already on watch long before the play began.

¹⁶ In *Prom. Luom.* the audience may have been told to imagine that Prometheus had been in position for 30,000 (or 30) years — see fr. 321b, 321c and 341. Other plays which use the convention but are less explicit about time are Aesch. *Seven*, cf. Soph. *OT*; Eur. *Hkld.*, *Andr.*, *Supp.*, *Her.*, *Hel.* and perhaps *Andromeda*; Ar. *Acharn.*, *Lys.*, *Eccles.*, (cf. Men. *Synaristosai?*).

¹⁷ It is worth bearing in mind that this trilogy (and the title *Achilleis*) has no ancient authority at all, though the case for it is particularly strong in this instance. Besides *Oresteia*, the only trilogies of Aeschylus which are actually attested are the Oedipus plays of 467 (*Hypoth.* to *Seven*, *POxy.* 2256 fr. 2) and *Λυκοργεία* (schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 135). The only external evidence for a Prometheus trilogy is the schol. in M on *Prom.* 511 *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐξῆς δράματι λύεται* (cf. schol. on 522). But this might mean only "in the next play in the book," cf. schol. on Pind. *Isthm.* 3.24 (Drachmann III p. 224) *ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐξῆς ᾠδῇ* . . . *POxy.* 2256 fr. 3 (= 122M = 288Ll-J) puts *Δαναΐδες* and *Ἀμυμώνη* in the same tetralogy, and this is certainly strong evidence for a Danaid tetralogy. In that case the titles show a significant, but neglected, difference between this trilogy and the other

on a conflation of *Iliad* books 9 and 16-18, and *Phr.* on book 24. The ancient scholarship weighs heavily in favour of Achilles' silence in *Phr.*, and almost all modern scholars since Hermann have followed it. Above all it is followed by Schadewaldt in his detailed and valuable study of Aeschylus' Achilles plays.¹⁸ However, by working from certain details of dramatic technique and from new papyrus fragments published by Lobel in 1941 and by Bartoletti in 1966,¹⁹ I have come to the conclusion that it was Achilles' silence in *Myrm.*, and not in *Phr.*, which Aristophanes had primarily, or exclusively, in mind. I had already worked this out, when I found that several of the arguments had already been put together by Bernhard Döhle.²⁰ Döhle in a long but workmanlike study first shows that Achilles was silent for the first part of *Myrm.*, as reflected in *Frogs* (pp. 68-90); he then argues that a series of early fifth-century vases, which have usually been taken as representations of the *Iliad* itself, are in fact under the influence of Aeschylus' play (pp. 95-125). Since I have new points to add, and since I differ from Döhle on details and am not altogether happy with his use of the evidence of pottery painting, I shall not follow his order of argument, but shall set the matter out afresh.

Start with the ancient scholarship. The paragraph in the *Life* (§6 = fr. 243a), which deals with silences, expressly starts from Aristophanes (§5). After describing Niobe, it goes on: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἑκτορος λύτροις

attested examples. In all the others the chorus changes from play to play in respect of sex, age, nationality and even of mortality: in this case the chorus is the same in the first and third plays. According to a widely accepted theory, the chorus was the Danaids in the middle play also (this is M. L. Cunningham's interpretation of *POxy.* 2251 in *RhM* 96 [1953] 223ff and 105 [1962] 189ff). But this is contradicted by the evidence of the title, Αἰγύπτιοι. A collective plural should be taken to give the identity of the chorus, unless there is very strong evidence to the contrary: see Haigh, *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* (Oxford 1896) 395ff.

¹⁸ In *Hermes* 71 (1936) 25ff = *Hellas etc.* (above, n. 11) I. 308ff. I shall offer a reconstruction of *Myrm.* quite different from Schadewaldt's; but even if I am right, this does not seriously impair the learning and insight of his paper.

¹⁹ *POxy.* 2163 in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XVIII, 1941, ed. E. Lobel. A fragment from the same papyrus was published by V. Bartoletti in *ASPap* I (1966) (Essays in Honor of Bradford Welles) 121-123. I give the text and discuss its significance on p. 72 below. The only literature I know on the new fragment is the erudite and helpful article of Di Benedetto (*Maia* N.S. 19 [1967] 373ff), which is chiefly concerned with the *scholia recentiora* on Aeschylus and Aristophanes.

²⁰ Döhle's doctoral dissertation (Humboldt-Universität, Berlin 1966) was printed as *Klio* IL (1967) 63-149. He has also published a résumé of his thesis in *WZRoStock* XVI (1967) 431-435.

Ἀχιλλεὺς ὁμοίως ἐγκεκαλυμμένος οὐ φθέγγεται πλὴν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὀλίγα πρὸς Ἑρμῆν ἀμοιβαῖα. Ἀμοιβαῖα means dialogue, probably in stichomythia.²¹ This is more informative than the scholion in R and V on *Frogs* 911 (= 212a¹) ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς κατήμενός ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρινόμενος ἐν δράματι ἐπιγραφόμενῳ Φρυξίνῃ ἢ Ἑκτορος λύτροις. οὐδὲν δ' ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς φθέγγεται. We know from the *Life* that these last words are not strictly accurate. The scholion goes on in V alone (still 212a¹) ἄλλως· εἰκὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς Φρυξίν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἢ Ἑκτορος λύτροις, ἢ τὸν ἐν Μυρμιδόσιν, ὃς μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερῶν οὐδὲν φθέγγεται. The possibility that Aristophanes may have had *Myrm.* in mind is usually rejected as an ignorant conjecture.²² The detail about two days of silence is claimed either to be foolishly transferred from *Niobe*, or to be a corrupt relic of a longer scholion which also discussed *Niobe*. But maybe the rejection was too hasty and high-handed; for there never was any solid evidence against *Myrm.*, nor against the detail of the third day. So too with the scholia on *Prom.* 436. The scholion in M (= 243d) begins *σιωπῶσι γὰρ παρὰ ποιηταῖς τὰ πρόσωπα ἢ δι' αὐθαδείαν, ὥς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν τοῖς Φρυξί Σοφοκλέους, ἢ διὰ κυμοφράν, ὥς ἡ Νιόβη παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ, ἢ διὰ περὶ σκεψιν, ὥς ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ τῷ Ποιητῇ . . . Σοφοκλέους* has nearly always been changed to *Αἰσχύλῳ*, but since the motive of Achilles' silence in Aeschylus' *Phr.* was probably not *αὐθάδεια* but grief for Patroclus, and since the scholion purports to illustrate silences from different poets, it may be that *Σοφοκλέους* should stand.²³ The scholion in P on the same place (= 212a²) reads . . . ὥς ἡ Νιόβη διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσιν λύπην ἐκίωπα· καὶ οἶον τὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὅταν ἐστάλησαν πρὸς ἐκείνον ὁ Ταλθύβιος καὶ Εὐρυβάτης

²¹ Cf. scholion on Soph. *Aj.* 38. Those who rightly reject the use of the word *κοιμῶς* to cover any lyric dialogue, regardless of whether or not it is threnetic, tend to advocate *ἀμοιβαῖον* as an alternative term (e.g. Cornford *CR* 27 [1913] 41ff, Diehl *RE* XI 1195ff). But this does not seem to have been its ancient meaning (except perhaps at Plut. *Pompey* 45).

²² The most important rejections of the *scholia recentiora* on *Frogs* and on *Prom.* have been those of Hermann *Opusc.* III 41–43, Wecklein *SBBA* (1891) 327ff, especially 343ff, and Wilamowitz, *Ed. Maj.* (Berlin 1914) p. 10 §27. They are followed by Schadewaldt (above, n. 18) 45 n. 2. The only important exceptions — before the recent revaluations of Di Benedetto (above, n. 19) 74ff, and Döhle (above, n. 20) 76ff — have been Bergk in *Hermes* 18 (1883) 481ff, and Croiset in *REG* 7 (1894) 151ff. (Broadly speaking, Croiset's reconstruction is that which I shall be advocating in the light of new evidence.) Döhle's reconstruction has been accepted in outline by B. Snell *Szenen aus griechischen Dramen* (Berlin 1971) 15 n. 34. (This book is a much revised version of *Scenes from Greek Drama*, Berkeley 1964).

²³ We know very little about Sophocles' *Φρύγες*, see Pearson *Fragments of Sophocles* II 325–327.

καλοῦντες εἰς μάχην ἐκίγγεν. The last part of this must be corrupt,²⁴ but the gist of it is clear: when the heralds tried to summon Achilles to the battle, he was silent. If this refers to a play by Aeschylus, it must be *Myrm.* It seems that these snippets of scholarship are the last remnants of a learned and detailed controversy; and that a case was made for *Myrm.* as the play which Aristophanes had in mind, although *Phr.* has emerged with more support in the surviving testimonia.

When, in the light of this controversy, we return to the evidence of *Frogs*, two extremely important, yet neglected, points emerge in favour of *Myrm.* The first (cf. Döhle pp. 75–77) is that in Aristophanes' "account" Niobe and Achilles sat there silent from the very beginning of the play, and the chorus recited the first words of the play (see p. 59 above). But in *Phr.*, as the *Life* clearly and honestly informs us, there was some kind of prologue scene with Hermes, who held a brief dialogue with Achilles. The chorus of Trojans with Priam will have entered after this (see further p. 75 below). *Myrm.* on the other hand did begin with a prologue-*parodos* from the chorus. We are told that the choral anapaests τὰδε μὲν λεύσσεις κτλ., which are quoted at *Frogs* 992, and which can be further supplemented from elsewhere (see below), were the opening lines of the play: ἔστι δὲ ἀρχὴ αὐτῇ Μυρμιδόνων in the scholion in V on *Frogs* 992 (= 212c¹) is confirmed by Harpocration ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ τῶν Μυρμιδόνων (= 212c³).²⁵ Secondly (cf. Döhle p. 74) Achilles broke his silence with martial bombast (see above, p. 59). This does not fit the situation of *Iliad* 24 in *Phr.*, where one imagines that Achilles' first words to Priam would be words of quiet compassion. On the other hand the ῥήματα βόεια would be well suited to the setting of *Myrm.* Further, the neologism which causes most amusement, ξουθὸς ἱππαλεκτρυῶν (*Frogs* 930–938), comes, as we know for sure, from *Myrm.* (see schol. *Frogs* 932, *Birds* 799, *Peace* 1177 = fr. 212b¹, b², b³). The other words in *Frogs* 928–929 and 937 might well be from *Myrm.*, though Mette is hardly justified in including them among the fragments.²⁶ Moreover *Myrm.* is quoted at other places in *Frogs* (992,

²⁴ Di Benedetto 375 n. 6 suggests simply ὅταν <γὰρ> ἐστάλησαν, which is neat; (ὅτε <γὰρ>) might be still neater); but one cannot help suspecting that the corruption goes deeper than that.

²⁵ This rules out the tentative suggestion of Lloyd-Jones (above, n. 9) 583, that *POxy.* 2253 (= 283 Ll-J = 223aM) might be the opening lines of *Myrm.*

²⁶ As frags. 212C, D, E, G. If Mette (fr. 224, following Wecklein) is right to attribute to this play a couplet of Aeschylus quoted by the grammarians, then we have there τάφρου cf. τάφρους in *Frogs* 928. M. Smethurst in *CPh* 66 (1971) 112 argues that the couplet coincides with *POxy.* 2163 fr. 6. At first glance this is attractive; but regrettably it must be wrong. *POxy.* XVIII plate I shows that

?1041, 1264f) and several times elsewhere in Aristophanes (*Birds* 800, 808, 1420, *Peace* 1177, *Eccles.* 392f): while *Phr.* so far as we know, is nowhere quoted or parodied in the surviving comedies. This may suggest that *Myrm.* was later reperformed without *Phr.* or, at least, that *Myrm.* made more of an impression on Aristophanes than *Phr.* The evidence for these very considerable arguments against *Phr.* and in favour of *Myrm.* has always been available; yet scholars have so overestimated the authority of the surviving ancient scholarship that they have failed to recognise the case against it.

If a case is to be made for *Myrm.* as the play alluded to in *Frogs*, then it is vital that Achilles was sitting on stage at the very beginning of the play. Scholars may have been put off the scent by the implication of the opening words of the play that Achilles is indoors. Certainly Schade-waldt (p. 45 and n. 2) regards this point as decisive. The opening words, preserved in *Frogs* 992, are continued in Harpocration (s.v. *προπεπωκότες* = 212c³); this is further supplemented by a few letters in *POxy.* 2163 fr. 1. Together they give us (= 213M)

<τάδε μὲν λεύσσεις, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,>
 δοριλ[υμάντους Δαναῶν μόχθους,
 οὐς δὲ π[ροπιν]²⁷ εἶσω
 κλισία[ς

(and the first three letters of four more lines). If Achilles is inside his *κλισία*, then how can he possibly be on stage? Döhle (p. 118f) realised that it is imperative to find an answer to this question. He rejects the solution of Croiset (*REG* 7 [1894] 153), who sat Achilles in the open doorway of his *κλισία*; but he replaces it with one which is little better. He argues that Achilles was seated beneath a cloth tent or canopy, and was visible to the audience, although he was still εἶσω *κλισίας*. He suggests that the name-painting of the Bryseis Painter²⁸ is inspired by the

the second letter of the fourth line of the fragment could not possibly have been τ. The trace is "the left-hand side of a circular letter, θ[or the like" (Lobel ad loc.).

²⁷ The lemma in Harpocration is *προπεπωκότες* because that is the form he is glossing in Demosthenes (18.296). There is no reason why the verb in Aeschylus, who is quoted to illustrate the usage, should be in the perfect tense. The *ύ* in the papyrus shows that Blomfield's *δὲ πρόπινων θάσσεις* was along the right lines. But other supplements are possible; for a start *πρόπινεις θάσων* might be more vivid. Although some part of *θάσων* would fit my argument extremely well, we have no direct evidence that this was the verb, nor could we know whether it came before or after εἶσω *κλισίας*.

²⁸ A.R.V.² 406.1. For details see Döhle 106 no. 17 and plate 5A (p. 146).

Aeschylean staging, and that it illustrates the *σκηνή*. But this vase illustrates *Iliad* book I: in the vases which Döhle argues are directly inspired by *Myrm.* (see below) the interior scene is indicated by pieces of armour hanging on the walls. This seems to have been simply a conventional mark of an interior scene, and can hardly have been inspired by the theatre.²⁹ Further, Döhle is surely mistaken in equating his version of Achilles' *σκηνή* with the tragic *σκηνή*. It is generally accepted that the tragic *σκηνή* was in origin a storehouse and changing room for the actors. The point of the theatrical *σκηνή* was precisely that the audience could *not* see inside it. Finally, the word in the fragment is *κλισία*. The Homeric *κλισία*, which is given epithets like *εὐπηκτος* and *ὕψηλή*, was a substantial wooden building, as is shown by *Iliad* 24. 448ff. Aeschylus would not have used the Homeric word if he had represented it by a small cloth *σκηνή* like that on the Bryseis vase.

There is a much simpler way out. In the later fifth century there was a convention by which a tableau might be rolled out of the *σκηνή* on a trolley (*ἐκκύκλημα*), while the audience was to imagine that the tableau was still indoors.³⁰ I suggest that in the earlier theatre, when in all probability there was no background *σκηνή*,³¹ the entire orchestra might be imagined as indoors. That is to say that the audience would imagine, if asked, that the scene being played before them in the open air was in fact set indoors. Anyone who has been to an open air production of a play which is set indoors will know that this is not a particularly demanding convention. My chief evidence for the use of this convention in the earlier fifth-century theatre is from Aeschylus' *Pers.* In the anapaests at 140ff the chorus (or coryphaeus) sings (or says) ἄλλ' ἄγε, Πέρσαι, τόδ' ἐνεζόμενοι / στέγος ἀρχαῖον / φροντίδα κεδνὴν καὶ βαθύβουλον / θώμεθα . . . Nearly all commentators have taken *ἐνεζόμενοι* to mean "sitting on," and thence "sitting in front of" or "sitting on the steps

²⁹ Found at least as early as the early sixth century: armour and musical instruments hang on the wall in the background of a symposium scene on a mid-Corinthian column crater (Louvre E629, Payne *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, p. 318 no. 1186). The device is common on early fifth century Attic red-figure.

³⁰ The firm conclusion of all the modern scholarship comes to little more than the account of the scholion on Ar. *Acharn.* 408: ἐκκύκλημα δὲ λέγεται μηχανήμα ξύλινον τροχὸν ἔχον, ὅπερ περιστρεφόμενον τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐνδον ὡς ἐν οἰκίᾳ πράττεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἔξω ἐδείκνυε (λέγει δὲ τοῖς θεαταῖς). Cf. N. Hourmouziades, *Production and Imagination in Euripides* (Athens 1965) 93ff.

³¹ It was argued by Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 21 (1886) 597ff (= *Kl. Schr.* I, Berlin 1935, 148ff) that the background *σκηνή* building was an innovation of the last few years before the *Oresteia*. In my view his case is still as cogent as it ever was, though it is generally disregarded.

of.”³² It is doubtful whether the word can be stretched to mean this; and its lexicography shows clearly that in Aeschylus it should mean “sitting in.”³³ As A. M. Dale saw,³⁴ the elders are to be imagined as *inside* their council chamber, even though in actual fact they are in the open air.³⁵ Similarly, the opening scenes of the tragedy by Phrynichus, on which *Pers.* is said to be based,³⁶ were also, it seems, set in a council chamber, since the play opened with the prologue of a eunuch who was spreading seats for the chorus of Persian elders. Again it seems that Aeschylus’ *Eum.* from line 235 to about 489 was set indoors (after 566 the scene is the Areopagus). The scenes are played in the presence of the ancient wooden image of Athena (παλαιὸν βρέτας, 80). This would have been housed under a roof.³⁷ Scholars have generally supposed that Aeschylus’ *Phr.* was played in front of the doorway of Achilles’ κλισία.³⁸ But *Iliad* book 24 emphatically sets the confrontation of Achilles and Priam inside; and if this simple convention was available to Aeschylus, we may suppose that he used it in that play also. So, if my theory is

³² The required meaning might be extracted from ἐφεζόμενοι, which was proposed by Blaydes, and has since been found in ms. Ya. But my interpretation makes the change unnecessary.

³³ This is well expounded by Riemschneider in *Hermes* 73 (1938) 349–350. Riemschneider himself proposes (350 n. 6) κτέος (the mss. have κτέος): but what are the Elders doing sitting in an old cave?

³⁴ *Collected Papers* (Cambridge 1969) 119.

³⁵ Later in the play the scene shifts and “refocusses” at the tomb of Darius; see Dale *Papers* 119f, 261f. But Miss Dale then spoils her observation by having the old men sit down on the steps in front of the very building which they are supposed to be inside. There is no such confusion if we suppose there was not yet a σκηνή in *Pers.* (see n.31 above).

³⁶ *Hypoth.* *Pers.* opens Γλαῦκος . . . ἐκ τῶν Φοινικῶν Φρυνίχου φησὶ τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιήσθαι. But the chorus of *Phoenissae* must have been Phoenician women, in view of the title (see n. 17 above and cf. Phrynichus fr. 9, 10 Snell): the chorus of the play which was the model for the *Pers.* must have been οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέδροι. Further, it looks very much as if this is the play listed in the *Suda* s.v. Φρύνιχος as Δίκαιοι ἢ Πέρσαι ἢ Σύνθωκοι (though a third alternative title is suspicious). The simplest explanation might be to regard the title in the *Hypothesis* as a straight error. The *Hypothesis* has been badly cut about as is shown by the displaced structural definitions in l. 7–11 (Wil.), which, as it happens, quote Eur. *Phoen.* 202. This line was inspired by Phrynichus’ play of the same title, which may help to explain the confusion.

³⁷ Scholars who dispute about the scene setting of *Eum.* tend to suppose that there is doubt over where the βρέτας of Athena was housed. But archeologists seem to be agreed that it was always housed on the Acropolis in a temple near the spot where the Erechtheum was later built. The Erechtheum was τὸ νεὸς τῷ ἐμ πόλει ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα (*IG* I² 372 of 409/8 B.C.).

³⁸ E.g. Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das griechische Theater* (Athens 1896) 199, Wilamowitz (above, n. 14) 245f, Pickard-Cambridge (above, n. 14) 37.

right, the opening scenes and probably the whole of *Myrm.* was set inside Achilles' κλισία. The very opening words of the play would have made this clear to an audience which was accustomed to the convention. It may have been this detail of dramatic technique which put the ancient scholars of Aristophanes off the scent, as it did Schadewaldt.

It might be felt at this stage of the discussion that if only we had firm evidence that in *Myrm.* Achilles was veiled, or that he was seated, then it would be settled that Aristophanes had *Myrm.* primarily in mind in *Frogs*. In POxy. 2163 fr. 8 (= 221M) we have that evidence in lines 3–5:

]θάccεic
].ν ἄναξ Ἀχιλλεῦ
"E]λλανὰ μὴ προδῶc c[

Taking it as a working hypothesis that *Myrm.* was the Achilles play in *Frogs*, we can now embark with some confidence on a reconstruction of the opening scenes of the play.³⁹ However, I present as facts things which are necessarily conjectural.

1) Achilles enters, like Niobe, and sits down on a chair or stool. His head is covered, and he is silent. In the song which ensues it is made clear that the scene is set inside Achilles' tent; and perhaps the audience is told that Achilles has been sitting there for some time already, perhaps for two days (see p. 64 above).

2) The chorus enters, and sings the first song (*parodos*), which begins with anapaests and then changes to lyric.⁴⁰ The burden of the song is that the battle is raging by the ships, and that the Greeks are hard-pressed (compare the first song of the *Seven*). The chorus pleads with Achilles to help, and reproaches him with treachery. We can fit into this song its opening words (fr. 213, see pp. 65–66 above), and probably fr. 221, quoted above. Here also we should probably put the words quoted at *Frogs* 1264ff (= 212B): Φθιῶτ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, τί ποτ' ἀνδροδάκτον ἀκούων, / ἰή, κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἄρωγάν;⁴¹ Throughout the song attention centres on Achilles as the chorus plead with him; we have

³⁹ I omit any consideration of Accius' *Myrmidones* and *Epinausimache*; it seems very doubtful whether they can tell us anything about Aeschylus' trilogy. Others better qualified may find some help in them. There is a brief reconsideration of their relevance in Di Benedetto (above, n. 19) 383–385.

⁴⁰ We do not know how long the anapaestic prelude was; it was 64 lines in *Pers.*, 39 in *Supp.* In POxy. 2163 fr. 1 there is a very slight realignment of the margin at l. 5 (= fr. 213 l. 6); but it is unlikely that this marks the end of the anapaests.

⁴¹ The *schol. vet.* on *Frogs* 1264 tells us that the lines are from *Myrm.* A *schol. rec.* (Triclinian?) adds (= fr. 212d²) τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν πρέβεων πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα Αἰχύλος πεποίηκεν. Some scholars try to make the chorus qualify as πρέβεις

three vocatives among the surviving fragments alone. He does not move, and maintains a stony silence.

3) Next, the heralds Talthybius and Eurybates enter with an official summons to the battle: see pp. 64–65 above. Only one, presumably Talthybius, will have spoken. They may also tell Achilles how the ships have been fired (fr. 212F) and perhaps other details of the progress of the battle (e.g. fr. 224, see n. 26). Throughout the scene Achilles neither moves nor speaks.

?4) Probably there was then a second choral song. This was presumably along the same lines as the opening song. Again Achilles makes no response. For a second song, which reiterates the first, though with a suitable change of emphasis, compare *Seven* 287ff. As in *Seven* the battle continues to rage offstage.

5) A new representative of the Greeks will now have entered to take up the attempt to rouse Achilles to battle.

Thus far the reconstruction is along the same lines as that of Döhle (pp. 80ff), though there are differences of detail and emphasis. At this point Döhle hopes to derive some information from vase paintings. He draws attention (pp. 95ff) to a series of paintings, some sixteen in all, which date from the first half of the fifth century, and show the embassy to Achilles. In the centre of these pictures Odysseus pleads with Achilles; usually there are other figures, who include in varying combinations Ajax, Diomedes, Phoenix and Patroclus. In 1858 Brunn had argued that this scene was under the influence of Aeschylus' *Myrm.*; but he was repudiated by Robert and Laurent, and in this century it had been universally supposed that the sole inspiration was the *Iliad* itself.⁴² This is in keeping with the orthodox view that tragedy had very little influence on pottery painters before the end of the fifth century. Döhle has one, and only one, really substantial point: in the paintings Achilles is represented as sitting in a posture of unresponsive despondence, and usually he has his mantle over his head. This detail, which is central to the iconography, is not in the *Iliad* (as we have it): it was, as has been argued, a memorable feature of Aeschylus' *Myrm.* This firm ground Döhle is able to hold, even though the earliest vase dates from about 490, and hence would be the earliest pottery painting to show the

(e.g. Croiset [above, n. 22] 154f); but it is easier to suppose that the scholion refers simply to the general situation in *Myrm.* Professor Lloyd-Jones suggests to me that the words may mean "from the famous embassy in Homer"; perhaps we should read ἀπὸ τῆς Πρεσβείας.

⁴² See now K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967) 166–178. For full bibliography see Döhle.

influence of tragedy⁴³; and even though the figure of "mourning Achilles" appears on paintings of other scenes from the *Iliad*, since it can be argued that the figure is taken from the iconography of the embassy.⁴⁴ So it seems that Döhle has made an arguable case that the "mourning Achilles" is inspired by Aeschylus.

However, Döhle makes a step of quite another order when he infers (pp. 121ff) from the vases that Odysseus was the next envoy who was sent to Achilles in *Myrm.*; for Odysseus was the first to speak at *Iliad* 9. 225ff. When he goes on to speculate that it was during the Odysseus scene that Achilles broke his silence, and that he broke it with the lines preserved in PSI 1211,⁴⁵ then he is, as it happens, demonstrably wrong. In the same year as Döhle submitted his doctorate, Bartoletti published the transcript of a scrap of papyrus (see n. 19). The original was destroyed in the bombing of Florence in March 1944. Fortunately it had already been transcribed by Vitelli, who noted that it was in the same hand as PSI 1208 (*Niobe*) and 1209 (*Diktyoulkoi*). When the transcription had been recovered from Vitelli's papers, Bartoletti with great acuteness saw that it fitted with a scrap of POxy. 2163, which is also in the same hand (see Lobel [n. 19] p. 23). The coincidence between the traces of letters which were broken between the two scraps, and the run of the sense make the join certain. Together they give us this fragment:⁴⁶

⁴³ Döhle should perhaps have mentioned the hydria fragments from Corinth published by Beazley in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 305ff, which date from before 450 B.C., and definitely represent a tragedy. The most convenient photograph and discussion are in Pickard-Cambridge *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* revised by Gould and Lewis (Oxford 1968) 182-183 and fig. 36. Gould and Lewis 183 n. 1 do not give due consideration to Page's suggestion (*PCPhS* N.S. 8 [1962] 47ff) that the oriental king is Croesus; we cannot insist that he is *rising* from the pyre, only that he is half in and half out. E. Vermeule maintained that a large crater in Boston, which she published in *AJA* 70 (1966) 1ff, was inspired by Aesch. *Oresteia*. Attractive though the theory is, it is almost certainly wrong. A painter inspired by Aeschylus could not show Aegisthus murdering Agamemnon, while Clytemnestra merely helps (cf. M. I. Davies *BCH* 93 [1969] 258f). And he could hardly show the murder of Aegisthus in the presence of Clytemnestra. Besides the date (c. 470 B.C.?), several other details militate against the case that the paintings were inspired by Aeschylus. In that case the robe-net and the parallel between the murders in *Agam.* and in *Cho.* must have been current before Aeschylus. His genius lies not in his invention of these motifs but in his use of them.

⁴⁴ See Döhle 106ff, 139f. and Friis Johansen (above, n. 42) 156.

⁴⁵ On this fragment see further pp. 74-75 below.

⁴⁶ | means the join of the two fragments. |ω| means that there were traces of the letter ω on both fragments. Mette *Nachtrag* (above, n. 8) 517f gives a text of

PSI

POxy. 2163 fr. 11

].[
]τι.α.ωγε. | ...[
].ἐπωδὴν | οὐκ ἔχω co[
]πρεεις ἄπ|α|σαν ἡνίαγ[
 5] . δ' Ἀχιλλεῦ | π|ρᾶς' οπη[
]νιξ γεραιέ τῶν | ἐμῶν φρε[
]λων ἀκοῦων | δ|υζτόμων λ[
]αι ciωπῶ κοῦδ | ε.[.]...μ[
]ἀντέλεξα σε δε. | [...]αξιωτ[

Bartoletti offers supplements for the beginnings and ends of lines 3–9, many of which are attractive; Mette offers other supplements, most of which are not so good.⁴⁷ For my purposes, however, just three of Bartoletti's supplements are significant. The first word of l. 6 must be *Φοῖνιξ*, and so we are dealing with a dialogue between Achilles and Phoenix. This means that in *Myrm.*, as in *Iliad* 9, Phoenix was sent as an envoy to placate Achilles. Hermann guessed this (*Opusc.* V p. 140), but no one since has believed him. Next, this entails a division of speakers between lines 4 and 5: 1–4 are spoken by Phoenix to Achilles, and 5–9 are the beginning of Achilles' reply. Thirdly, the first word of l. 8 is very probably *πάλαι*, cf. *Pers.* 290 *ciγῶ πάλαι*.⁴⁸ This suggests that here at last Achilles breaks his long silence. Phoenix succeeds in eliciting a reasonable response from Achilles, when the others had failed. Bartoletti's scrap, taken with the evidence already presented, makes it virtually certain that Achilles sat silent during the opening scenes of *Myrm.*, and that *Myrm.* was indeed the play which Aristophanes had in mind in *Frogs*. It is greatly to Döhle's credit that he had arrived at this conclusion without the help of the new fragment, even though the fragment destroys some of his minor arguments.

the fragment as fr. 224a. But Mette's version cannot be trusted without reference to Lobel and Bartoletti. I have tried to give here a text which is completely unedited except for reasonably sure word division, accentuation, and punctuation.

⁴⁷ In l. 7 Bartoletti's πολ]λῶν and λ[αλημάτων are very attractive, and so is *εὐδὲ τ[ὸν] ἀξιῶτ[ατον]* in l. 9. At the end of 8, Mette's κοῦδεν [ἀ]γταμ[εῖβομαι / οὐδ'] may at first glance seem to give better sense than Bartoletti's κοῦδ' ἐπ[ι]γμα[αι πόκοις / οὐκ], but it does not fit the traces (to judge from POxy. XVIII plate I).

⁴⁸ See further p. 80 below. This is the first occurrence of *ciωπᾶν* in Aeschylus, although *ciγᾶν* is common. The verb *ciωπᾶν* occurs ten times in Sophocles and fifteen times in Euripides. Yet, when we lack other evidence, just such details of vocabulary or style are used for the attribution of papyrus fragments. This illustrates how unsure such attributions are.

Evidently we have in this new fragment the vital moment when Achilles finally broke his silence. A qualification must be added however, since *Frogs* 923ff imply that he first broke his silence with a dozen words of bombast (see pp. 59 and 65 above). This is not incompatible with the wording of the fragment. We may suppose that his dozen words were uttered in an incoherent passion; while here he first speaks clearly and reasonably. Compare Shakespeare's Pericles (see p. 58 above), who utters incoherent noises and phrases before he is fully recovered. Presumably Achilles did not utter his ῥήματα βόεια δώδεκα to Phoenix, but earlier, in response to the pestering of the heralds or of someone who followed them (Odysseus?). I would hesitantly make the further speculation that with those words he sent Patroclus off to battle. This must have happened either at that earlier stage, or some time after Achilles has broken his silence for Phoenix, which seems rather too late in the play.

So we can now resume, though rather more speculatively, the reconstruction which was suspended earlier on p. 70.

?5) Phoenix may have entered now; but it may well be that there was yet another envoy before him.⁴⁹ In that case it would be Odysseus, as in *Iliad* and as on the vases.⁵⁰ It was perhaps in this scene that Achilles uttered his first sounds in the form of a few belligerent nonce-words; and I have suggested that with these words he may have dispatched Patroclus. Besides this brief and passionate outburst, Odysseus will have had no success in communicating with Achilles, for all his skill with words.

?6) If Odysseus had a part in the play, another choral song is likely to have come between his scene and Phoenix. The departure of Patroclus may have supplied the starting point.

7) Phoenix⁵¹ now tries to elicit some response from Achilles. Probably

⁴⁹ Particularly if Bartoletti's attractive supplements of l. 7-9 of the papyrus are accepted (πολλῶν ἀκούων δυστόμων λαλημάτων / πάλαι σιωπῶ κούδ' ἐπίσταμαι πόροις / οὐκ ἀντέλεξα).

⁵⁰ Perhaps Diomedes was a silent companion, since he is a member of the embassy on some vases and yet not in the *Iliad*.

⁵¹ For what it is worth I note that *POxy.* 2256 fr. 46 (= 569M) reads]νῆξ[, (and that fr. 49 (= 572M) includes]αι εἰχ[, while fr. 55 (= 229b) from the same group is plausibly attributed to *Myrm.* by Snell (*Gnomon* 25 [1953] 437). The indubitable part of Phoenix in *Myrm.* may be a small nail in the coffin of theories of late additions to the *Iliad*. D. L. Page is one of the latest to argue that Phoenix was added to book 9 which was added to the "original" *Iliad* (*History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley [1959] 297ff). Page does not say when he thinks Phoenix was added; but he implies (323f) that such things could happen as late as the fourth century. We must now bear in mind that Phoenix

he has no success at first, but perseveres (cf. Marina). Finally, as the new fragment shows, Achilles answers him in measured and respectful language. Valuable though the fragment is, it tells us nothing else of the broader shape of the scene.

8) The last part of the play has often been discussed,⁵² and papyrus fragments have not yet yielded anything which adds to our knowledge. Antilochus evidently announced the death of Patroclus, as in *Iliad* 18 — see fr. 227M. Achilles lamented over his friend in terms which, as Plato, Athenaeus, Plutarch, and Lucian did not fail to remark, are unambiguously homosexual (frr. 228–231). Although the surviving fragments of Achilles' lament are all spoken, the *threnos* was presumably also taken up in lyric.

I have made no attempt to fit into this reconstruction of *Myrm.* the Florence papyrus fragment of a *rhesis* of Achilles (*PSI* 1211 = 286 Ll-J = 225M). The lines have generally been assigned to this play, and they form the focus of Schadewaldt's discussion. There is no direct evidence that the fragment is from Aeschylus' *Myrm.*; and the attribution is doubted by Page.⁵³ The chief argument has always been that "the fragment comes from just such a scene as we imagine Aeschylus's *Myrmidons* to have included" (Page p. 139). But if the new reconstruction, which I have advanced, is along the right lines, then this is no longer true. The fragment seems to belong to an early stage in the development of Achilles' resentment, and it has generally been placed early in the play (see Schadewaldt p. 47ff). If we now suppose that Achilles maintained a long silence throughout the earlier scenes of the play, and that he first spoke coherently only for Phoenix, then the fragment will have to come well on in the play, quite possibly over

played a crucial part in Aesch. *Myrm.*, and that he is present and named in early fifth-century vase paintings of the *Πρεσβεία* (see Döhle 99ff, nos. 1, 3, 8, 14, and ?2, ?5, ?6, ?9). Some, including Friis Johansen (above, n. 42) 51ff, think that Phoenix is represented as a member of the embassy on a late seventh-century bronze tripod leg found at Olympia.

⁵² See the discussions cited in n. 22.

⁵³ *Greek Literary Papyri* Loeb ed. (Cambridge, Mass. 1942) no. 20 p. 136ff. Lloyd-Jones (above, n. 9) 59off (with full bibliography, add Döhle 84ff) shares some of Page's doubts. *PSI* 1211 is not in the same hand as *POxy.* 2159–2164 and *PSI* 1208–1210, as can be seen from the relevant photographs. Snell (above, n. 22) p. 2 n. 2, is mistaken about this. Snell, pp. 1ff, has tried to see the fragment as a key document for the history of "self-awareness" among the Greeks. His argument (which, I confess, is over my head) is based on supplements which are open to attack; see Lloyd-Jones *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 13f. If Snell is right that the conceptual content is advanced for Aeschylus' time, then this does not militate against a later author.

halfway through. Di Benedetto⁵⁴ made the obvious suggestion that Phoenix is the interlocutor in the fragment, and that it comes soon after Achilles has first broken his silence. But the lines do not fit comfortably in this new context. It seems strange that Achilles should dilate on the situation in this prosaic way, when he has already heard all the arguments, and met them with a crushing silence. *ὥς λέγουσι κύμαχοι* in line 9 sounds strange if not only the chorus but several other talkative envoys have been heard and rejected. And are we to suppose that Phoenix brought the news of the threatened stoning? It was surely not crude threats like that which elicited the quiet reply of Achilles in the new papyrus fragment. So I incline to follow Page, and to doubt whether the fragment is Aeschylean.⁵⁵

I have held that Achilles maintained a long and memorable silence in *Myrm.*; and that it was this silence which Aristophanes had primarily in mind in *Frogs*. That is not to deny that Achilles was also silent in *Phr.*, nor that Aristophanes may have had that in mind also, though secondarily. Our ancient evidence (listed and quoted on pp. 63–64) tells us clearly that in *Phr.* Achilles was seated, silent and veiled, and that “he did not reply.” We are in a position to attempt to place this silence in the play.⁵⁶ His motive must have been grief for Patroclus — cf. *Iliad* 24. 1ff. After the prologue with Hermes, the chorus of Trojans entered with Priam. In a lost play a character of Aristophanes’ recalls the complex choreography of their *parodos* (fr. 678 Kock = 246M). Achilles presumably sat silent through this first song. Then he sat silent as Priam pleaded with him. But it is hard to see how this silence could have extended beyond this episode. Eventually, surely, Achilles must have responded to Priam. It seems most unlikely that Achilles’ silence was anything like as long as his silence in the first play of the trilogy. We do not know how Achilles broke his silence in *Phr.*; but it is quite likely that Aeschylus took over the quiet, consolatory tone of *Iliad* 24. 518ff.

⁵⁴ *Maia* N.S. 19 (1967) 384f, followed by Snell (above, n. 22) p. 3 n. 5. Vitelli in the original publication had considered Phoenix as the other party.

⁵⁵ If the fragment is post-Aeschylean then it seems that the theme of Achilles’ “treachery” (stoning, *προδοσίαν* 20) was taken from Aeschylus (see fr. 213, 221); cf. Snell (above, n. 22) 6f. It is always possible that the fragment comes from the next play *Nereides*. J. R. Rea in *ZPE* 7 (1971) 93 has offered a new reading of l. 14, which introduces the Aeschylean form *τὰ βέλτατα*. But this point cannot be allowed too much weight (cf. n. 48).

⁵⁶ For reconstructions see the bibliography cited in n. 22; add Döhle 93–95 (136–139 discusses vases).

So twice in this single trilogy Achilles sat in his tent, silent, his head covered, while others pleaded with him to speak, and to show some response to their pleas. This striking visual picture, which seems to have influenced a whole series of vase paintings (see p. 70 above), will not have been doubled by Aeschylus out of mere lack of invention. When a Greek tragedian sets out a clear and unmistakable visual reflection or aural echo of an earlier scene, then he is inviting the audience to consider the similarities and hence the differences between the two situations.⁵⁷ What then was the change which was brought out by the mirror scene of *Myrm.* in *Phr.*? Unfortunately we can only conjecture an answer; but there must have been one. I suggest that the main difference lay in the motives of the two silences, and in the reasons for breaking them. In *Myrm.* Achilles was silent out of picque — δι' αἰθαρδαίαν. Because of a matter of personal pride, he impassively allows his friends to be killed. He sees the troubles of the Greeks (fr. 213), he hears the clash of slaughter (212B), but, because of a personal grudge, he allows it to go on. We cannot tell how Phoenix persuaded Achilles to speak; but it was surely not out of pity for the Greeks. In *Phr.* Achilles was silent διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν λύπην — through grief for another, Patroclus. And he breaks his silence out of compassion, not even for his friends, but for an enemy. A suggestion of this shift of emphasis is already there in the *Iliad*.⁵⁸

In conclusion, the Aeschylean silences of Niobe and Achilles were significant silences. They were not accidental, nor were they the result of technical expediency, nor were they, as Aristophanes' Euripides insinuates, a trick to pass the time. The silent figure was the centre of dramatic attention. Others talked about his silence, asked him why he was silent, pleaded with him to speak; and so the silence became the very stance of the silent character. When at last he did speak, his words were the more notable for the preceding silence. Although the original plays are lost, all this can be said with some confidence.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ I have tried to illustrate this from Sophocles in *GRBS* 12 (1971) 25ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) chap. IX, especially 218ff.

⁵⁹ I have not found clear signs of any other Aeschylean silences among the lost tragedies. If we combine Aristotle *Poet.* 1460a32 with Alexis fr. 178K and Amphis fr. 30K, then we may conjecture that Telephus was memorably silent in *Mysoi*. In that case he would have been silent because he was polluted and still unpurified. This would make an interesting contrast with Orestes, who at *Eum.* 276ff argues that he is pure, and so permitted to address Athena. It is also possible that Dionysus met Lycurgus' oblique questions in *Edonoi* (fr. 72-75M) with patient silence.

III

SILENCES IN THE SURVIVING PLAYS

In the light of this discussion I shall now turn to silences in the surviving plays of Aeschylus. Niobe and Achilles provide us with a sort of model against which to compare the silences which are fully preserved. There are, in fact, *no* silences which are comparable in length or in dramatic importance with those of Achilles and Niobe; nor are there any which share all, or even most, of their characteristics. There are some silences which are the object of attention and are of some dramatic significance; but they are few and they are, perhaps, rather disappointing.

The most interesting surviving silence is, as has been generally recognised, that of Cassandra in *Agamemnon*. Cassandra does not utter a sound until line 1072, which is nearly 300 lines after she first entered with Agamemnon. But her silence throughout the intervening time is not of a constant dramatic interest; it becomes, by stages, the object of greater interest. Agamemnon first draws explicit attention to Cassandra at 950-955. Up until then she is not even noticed by the words of the play. Fraenkel⁶⁰ insists that "whatever the arrangement on the stage, according to the rules of early Attic drama no notice should be taken of Cassandra before attention is drawn to her by some explicit phrase." But this is too rigidly formulated. In the theatre the audience could not help noticing this woman in her unusual costume, particularly as she alone is in the chariot with Agamemnon. Aeschylus must have meant them to notice her: he himself has broken the "rules." He is, it seems, playing a delicate — and unusual — game with his audience. He has touched their curiosity, and yet has done nothing at all to satisfy it. At 950-955 Agamemnon tells Clytemnestra to take the foreign slave-girl inside, and to treat her well. But attention is then re-directed to the purple cloth, and then to the choral song (975ff); and all this time Cassandra stays still in the chariot. It seems that Aeschylus means us (the audience) to notice her, and yet not to centre our attention on her; to have a vague curiosity about her, and yet not to ask specific questions. This is unusual technique for Greek tragedy. Up until l. 1035 it is not Cassandra's silence in particular which impinges on our attention; it is

⁶⁰ *Aeschylus Agamemnon* (Oxford 1950) II 370. Some commentators have held that Cassandra was completely hidden from view by Agamemnon, and that she was not seen at all until he left the chariot (at 950?). But this does not take into account the shape of the Greek theatre, which would, surely, make this device impossible.

simply her presence. Then Clytemnestra comes out again in order to fetch Cassandra in. Her first address (1035–1046) apparently meets with no response at all, and the chorus quickly reiterate it (1047–1049). Clytemnestra even surmises that Cassandra may not understand Greek (1050–1063). They conclude that, like a new captured animal, she cannot submit to captivity (1063–1067).⁶¹ For the first time Clytemnestra fails, and she goes back in (1068). Cassandra's silence helps to show her independence; but its chief point lies in its breaking. Her first outlandish cries inaugurate, and separate from what precedes, the long scene which, through its free ranging in time and in significant imagery, becomes in many ways the central scene of the play.⁶² Cassandra breaks her silence not because of Clytemnestra or the chorus, but because of an external force: the onset of her vision. Her long silence is unusual in that its motive is left unclear, and is never explained; rather it surrounds her with mystery. Aeschylus' arousal of this mystery is deliberate and pointed: for it leads us⁶³ on to the crucial scene which will take us from mystification to insight.

The only silence which, like those of Niobe and Achilles, starts at the very beginning of the play is that of Prometheus during the prologue of *Prometheus*. Not until l. 88, after Hephaestus, Kratos, and Bia have gone, does Prometheus speak. His silence presumably shows his defiance of the superior powers, and his titanic resilience. Hephaestus groans for him (66–68); yet Prometheus himself is silent. This makes his fine opening lines (88–92) all the more impressive. Yet Aeschylus does not make much use of this silence. He never draws explicit attention to it, nor does he give any hint how it should be interpreted.⁶⁴ Prometheus is usually spoken of in the third person, almost as though

⁶¹ I find it hard to believe that during these lines Cassandra is wildly agitated, since the language of 1063ff is figurative rather than literal, and since she is still in the chariot (see 1070). Whatever the staging, the main point of the lines is to stress how the slave will not submit to the will of Clytemnestra as the king has already done. Good on this aspect of Cassandra is Winnington-Ingram *JHS* 68 (1948) 134.

⁶² I have found the best interpretations of the scene in Fraenkel, *Die Kassandraszene der Orestie in Kleine Beiträge*, Rome 1964, I p. 375ff (written in 1936), and K. Reinhardt, *Aischylos als Regisseur und Theologe*, Bern 1949, 97ff.

⁶³ When I use the first person plural in a context like this I mean "us as a collaborative audience under the control of the playwright." For the criticism and appreciation of drama this seems to be a more important "us" than "us as bookish readers who know it all already."

⁶⁴ Dignan (above, n. 1) 23 stresses this, not without reason. The positive lack of attention paid to the silence has led many scholars to suppose that only two speaking actors were available for *Prom.*; and thence to the theory that Prometheus was represented by a preposterous manufacture of the *σκευοποιός*.

he were inanimate. He is addressed (18–35, 66, 82–87), yet no one waits for an answer, and no one remarks the lack of one.⁶⁵ As we read, we may think it more subtle that Prometheus' silence is not laboured: but in performance, when our attention has to follow the directions of the playwright, it may be that we are not given enough opportunity to consider and appreciate the gesture. It is hard to resist the criticism that the dramatist has missed an opportunity here.⁶⁶ A modern producer might well be tempted to introduce empty pauses now and then during the course of the prologue. Wilamowitz and Mazon have led the way by interpolating in their editions a long silence between lines 87 and 88, without any foundation in the text.

Contrast this silence, which is not given direct attention, with the brief but telling silence of Orestes at *Eumenides* 302. Orestes calls on Athena to come and help him (276–298). The chorus, always argumentative, try to provoke him to a dispute (299–302); but Orestes does not respond: οὐδ' ἀντιφωνεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀποπτύεις λόγους . . . ; (303). Aeschylus does not interpret the silence for us, but by drawing explicit attention to it he invites us to consider it. It seems to show Orestes' defiance of the Erinyes; and to show how he puts his trust not in his own powers of argument but in Apollo and Athena.

There are some silences which are not of any interest for themselves, but only for their breaking; the silence only becomes of interest when it is over. The clearest example must be that of Pylades in *Choephoroi*. All through the first half of the play Pylades is silent. Yet this silence is not significant; no attention is paid to it. The audience will simply have assumed that Pylades was to be κωφὸν πρόσωπον throughout the play.⁶⁷ Yet when Orestes turns to Pylades at 899,⁶⁸ he replies with three

⁶⁵ The only reference to silence is later in Prometheus' "monody" (106ff), where he inconsequentially invokes the dilemma of being silent and not silent. Contrast the sense of the dilemma at *Prom.* 197f, *Soph. Phil.* 329, and in para-tragedy at *Ar. Lys.* 713 (= *Eur. fr.* 883N²).

⁶⁶ One who believes that *Prom.* is not by Aeschylus, but is the product of a "school of Aeschylus," would do well to maintain that this silence is a derivative attempt at an Aeschylean silence. The imitator knew that his character should be silent at the beginning of the play; but he did not know how to use the silence effectively.

⁶⁷ Pylades is a certain type of κωφὸν πρόσωπον: the lesser of a fixed pair of characters. Although Kratos and Bia are the only other such pair in Aeschylus' surviving plays, we may guess that they were not uncommon in the early as in the later theatre. I have supposed that Eurybates was a κωφὸν πρόσωπον in *Myrm.* (p. 70), and note the probable appearances of the twin Palikoi in *Aitnaiai* and the twin Boreads in *Phineus*.

⁶⁸ I cannot believe all the commentators who say that Pylades trailed on after Orestes at about line 899. As the lesser of a fixed pair he should always accom-

decisive lines. The lines gain extra weight and impact precisely because Pylades has never spoken before. It is not the silence which is important, but the ending of it. So too with the Queen in *Pers.* When the advance messenger first arrives with his disastrous news, he moves the chorus to an "epirrhematic" lyric exchange (256ff). After three strophic pairs the Queen intervenes with (290f) *εἰγὼ πάλαι δύστηνος ἐκπεπληγμένη / κακοῖς*. Her silence receives no attention while it lasts, but when she intervenes, the end of her silence makes an effective starting point. Her dignity and her quick return to composure contrast with the abandoned lament of the chorus. But her silence is not remarked while it lasts.⁶⁹

There are other silences which pass unnoted; and yet we may judge them to have been put to good dramatic effect. These are technical silences brought about by other overriding dramatic considerations; yet Aeschylus still manages to make some positive use of them. For example, later in *Pers.* (694ff), the Queen once more remains quiet and dignified, while the chorus cannot control their emotion. The silent exit of Agamemnon over the purple cloth to the accompaniment of Clytemnestra's ambiguous assurances (*Agam.* 958ff) helps to show how completely he has been defeated by his wife. Orestes' anguished words as the votes are counted in *Eum.* (744ff) come after 130 lines of silence. They bring attention strongly back to him for the verdict, after the trial has moved away to more general issues. Clytemnestra intervenes more effectively at *Agam.* 1654, because she has not spoken for a long time.⁷⁰ But we do not notice these silences as such; we only register their place in a larger dramatic context.

Already I have come far from long and significant silences comparable to those of Niobe and Achilles. The truth is that, strictly speaking, there are no "Aeschylean silences" in the surviving plays of Aeschylus. Only the silences of Cassandra and Prometheus are properly comparable, and even these comparisons need considerable qualification. Aeschylus is famous for his silences because Aristophanes chose to

pany the other and not cause a distraction by arriving late. Also he should be present during the preceding dialogue in order to pass judgment. If this means that Aeschylus must have given a fourth actor three lines to speak, then well and good.

⁶⁹ Broadhead, *The Persae of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1960) xli f, protests too much at the suggestion that the technique here is archaic. He seems to equate "archaic" with "incompetent." In any case it is not the silence which is archaic; comparable technical silences are found throughout Greek tragedy. What is archaic is the way that Aeschylus "apologises" when the actor takes over the dialogue from the chorus.

⁷⁰ Cf. Wilamowitz (above, n. 14) 202.

turn them to comic effect in *Frogs*. Aristophanes used the notable silences of Niobe and Achilles. There is no reason to assume that there will necessarily be other silences on the same scale and of the same significance in the seven surviving tragedies. As it happens, no less effective use is made of silences in the surviving tragedies of Sophocles, and of Euripides too (see pp. 94-96 below). Yet we read in all the handbooks and commentaries on Aeschylus of his famous silences: "Aeschylus had a *penchant* for silent characters," "Aeschylus is notorious for silences," and so forth. It is my contention that these comments are almost invariably inappropriate. They are often used in the attempt to explain or explain away silences which should really be accounted for in technical or in textual terms. Some of these silences are merely instances of necessary and unnoticed not-speaking, brought about by the plain fact of dramatic technique that not everyone can talk at once. On these occasions the silence, far from being an "Aeschylean silence," is of no dramatic interest at all: though the overriding dramatic considerations which bring it about may be instructive. There are a few other silences which are the product of editorial and textual complications. In these controversies, the side whose solution involves the offending silence makes a comfortable appeal to "Aeschylus' famous silences," and imagines that the problem is then resolved. I shall try to expose one or two of these illusory explanations.

First, one or two uncontroversial technical silences. Danaus in *Supp.* and Electra in *Cho.* both enter with a chorus. Both have to wait until the end of the first choral song (*parodos*) before they can speak (*Supp.* 1-175, *Cho.* 22-83). These silences go by unnoticed, and they are not meant to be noticed. Danaus is plainly introduced at 12f, and is not mentioned again; Electra is introduced by Orestes at 16-18, and is not brought into the song at all. Throughout the history of Greek tragedy it was possible for an actor to stay on stage, silent and unnoticed, during an act-dividing choral song.⁷¹ Clearly the audience readily acquiesced in the convention, and paid no attention to the resulting silence. So these are not "Aeschylean silences," but merely silences in Aeschylus.⁷²

⁷¹ The instances are catalogued by Dignan (above, n. 1) 39ff, Spitzbarth (above, n. 14) 73ff. In Sophocles and Euripides, particularly in their later plays, an actor sometimes takes part in an act-dividing song; such songs are marked as "dialog(ischen Lieder)" in the table of act-dividing songs in Kranz (above, n. 7) 124-125. Lyric dialogue is found especially in the first song of the play (*parodos*); and it has a single Aeschylean precedent in the first song of *Prom.* (128ff), one of the several "late" features of dramatic technique in that play.

⁷² Yet Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama* 4th ed. (Chicago 1936) 230, brings up Niobe and Achilles in connection with Danaus; and Groeneboom

The later silence of Danaus during the first scene with Pelasgus (*Supp.* 234-479) is similar in this respect. Once Aeschylus has made the central dramatic decision, that the Danaids themselves should face their own problems and speak (or sing) on their own behalf, then there are bound to be situations where Danaus stands idle.⁷³ So he stands silently, while his daughters persuade Pelasgus to protect them. The generally neglected aspect of the dramatic technique here is that not only does Aeschylus draw no attention to Danaus' silence; he positively turns his back on it. He is well aware of the difficulty; and so during the entire scene Danaus is mentioned only at his due place in the genealogy (315-317). One might well have expected more attention to be paid to him were he *not* there. Aeschylus deliberately pushes Danaus into the background, and does not allow his fully preoccupied audience to ask any awkward questions about the silence. So he skillfully ensures that the silence is of no consequence. Yet in the latest discussion there is, predictably, a reference to Aristophanes' *Frogs*.⁷⁴ The silence of Danaus could hardly be less like those of Niobe and Achilles.

Riemschneider, followed by Broadhead,⁷⁵ interpolates a long and empty silence after *Persae* 149. In their view the old men sit engrossed in uffish thought until they are disturbed by the approach of the Queen. This is based on a bookish interpretation of lines 140ff (quoted for another purpose on p. 67 above). It is claimed that *προνοῖδα* . . . *βαθύβουλον* should strictly mean "thought" and not "debate"; and that the thought, since the questions in 144ff hardly comprise it, must be silent. But this fails to appreciate the transitional function of the anapaests in 140-149. After the wide-ranging song these lines bring the chorus back to their role as elders and advisors, and they raise once more the question of the fate of Xerxes, which is to be taken up by the Queen in the next scene. In dramatic terms it is no matter that nothing comes of the debate.⁷⁶ The alleged silence would not only be without

Prometheus edition (Groningen 1928, repr. 1966) 105 includes Electra in his discussion of Aeschylean silences.

⁷³ See Lloyd-Jones *Ant. Class.*, 33 (1964) 363ff, and Dale (above, n. 34) 210ff; and now at length Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplices* (Cambridge 1969) 126ff. Euripides in his *Supp.*, possibly directly influenced by Aeschylus, gives Adrastus a similar role. But Adrastus' silence from 263 to 734 seems peculiarly contrived; at 513 he is given half a line, but is promptly silenced again.

⁷⁴ Garvie (above, n. 73) 130 n. 1. The relevance of the note to Danaus is left vague.

⁷⁵ Riemschneider (above, n. 33) 349-351, Broadhead (above, n. 69) 258f.

⁷⁶ Cf. Wilamowitz (above, n. 14) 42f; also Holtsmark *Symb. Osl.* 45 (1970) 5-13. (However, Holtsmark overrates ring-composition as a formative factor in dramatic technique.)

parallel in surviving tragedy, but it would surely, in performance, tend to be ridiculous. But whatever one may think of the silence, I hope it is clear from my discussion that Riemschneider and Broadhead are not justified in referring, as they do, to *Frogs* 911ff.⁷⁷ Achilles and Niobe, and even Cassandra and Prometheus, are in no way comparable to a chorus sitting in total silence.

I move now from a silence which is the invention of editors to one which, perhaps, editors should try to eliminate: Prometheus' silence before *Prometheus* 436. The ancient commentators were, no doubt, as keen as we are to find Aeschylean silences in Aeschylus; but the only place where this has left a trace in the surviving remnants is in the scholia on *Prom.* 436. They are quoted on pp. 64–65 above. It is true that the scholion in M illustrates from different authors the different emotions which lie behind silences, but the reference to Achilles in *Myrm.* in the continuation in P suggests that these are extracted from a detailed discussion of Aeschylean silences. Modern scholars, encouraged no doubt by the ancient precedent, wax eloquent on the profound significance of this silence.⁷⁸ The cosmos reverberates, we are told. But the closer we look at its precise context, the more baffling and inconsequential it seems to become. In our text the opening lines of the new act after the choral song (397–435) are: μή τοι χλιδῇ δοκεῖτε μηδ' αὐθαδίᾳ / αἰγᾶν με· κυννοίᾳ δὲ δάπτομαι κέαρ / ὁρῶν ἐμαντὸν ὦδε προυνελοῦμενον. / καίτοι κτλ. Prometheus' silence must have occurred either during the preceding choral song, or in an empty space between the end of the song and his first line. Few commentators have accepted the former alternative; for there is nothing remarkable about an actor's silence during a choral song (cf. n. 71). It was a necessary and accepted convention. No one would think of imputing any such silence to "luxuriance" or "stubbornness," or to anything else but technical necessity. So, it is agreed, the silence occurs after the end of the song. It is comfortable to read this as a stage instruction; but when considered in performance it is more embarrassing. Nothing moves, nobody speaks. What are we to make of this sudden and unexplained void? Such an unfamiliar device must have a significant explanation; yet Prometheus'

⁷⁷ Riemschneider 351 n. 1, Broadhead 259. Broadhead's question "(are not the 'silences' of Aeschylus' characters notorious?)" seems to have a deliberate hint of frivolity. In any case a prolonged silence by the chorus is quite different from one by an actor. The chorus' silence was a frequent and unremarkable technical necessity throughout Greek tragedy; and longer and more common in Sophocles and Euripides than in Aeschylus.

⁷⁸ For example, Wilamowitz (above, n. 14) 122f, Méautis *Eschyle et la Trilogie* (Paris 1936) 87f, Kitto *Greek Tragedy* 3rd ed. (London 1961) 112.

eventual words hardly supply it. Considering the silence in performance, another point strikes me which, though frivolous, is not negligible. It is a structural feature of Greek tragedy that after a choral song the new act begins with a new entry. Possibly this is implied by the technical term *ἐπεισόδιον*. Although this fundamental feature of structural technique is not to be found in the standard handbooks, which are based on the pseudo-Aristotelian chapter 12 of *Poetics*, anyone can check for himself that there are very few exceptions to this general rule.⁷⁹ So the audience expect a new entry after the song. When there is a long and unexpected pause, what are they to suppose? Presumably that the actor due to enter has missed his cue.

Those who are impressed by this peculiarly verbal and portentous play will no doubt defend Prometheus' silence, and find that it somehow reflects the upheaval of the cosmos. Others may look rather for a textual or bibliographical explanation. W. Schmid, who noted that this is not a proper Aeschylean silence, regarded it as a sign that the play is not authentic.⁸⁰ Others, who suppose that the play was unfinished and was put together from fragments after Aeschylus' death, may regard the silence as a result of this process. Others may prefer a less drastic textual solution. For example, some opening lines spoken by the chorus (cf. 193–196), which commented on Prometheus' silence, may have dropped out between lines 435 and 436. Or perhaps lines 436–438 have somehow been displaced or interpolated from elsewhere, and Prometheus originally began with 439 (cf. 907). Whatever the explanation, I hope to have shown that it is of no avail to refer to *Frogs* 911ff, as everyone has since the scholiast: the silences of Niobe and Achilles were a completely different matter.

Problems of text and authenticity also complicate the question of the silences of Antigone and Ismene at *Seven Against Thebes* 870–961. The

⁷⁹ The pattern is implied by Kranz (*De Forma Stasimi*, diss. Berlin 1910, p. 7) when he says that certain astrophic lyrics occur "stasimi loco, id est post abitum histrionis atque ante introitum alterius." In nearly all of the few exceptions there is some sort of rearrangement or intervention which is virtually equivalent to a new entry, e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 710, Soph. *Phil.* 865. I hope to discuss this fully elsewhere. *Prom.* 436–525 is one of the two acts (or *epeisodia*) in the whole of surviving tragedy which contains no exit or entry at all. The other is Eur. *Hel.* 252–385, which ends with the departure of Helen and the chorus, and so is significantly different.

⁸⁰ *Untersuchungen zum Gefesselten Prometheus* (Tübingen Beiträge zur Altertumsw. IX, Stuttgart 1929) 13f, 38f. Schmid complicates his theory by regarding the Oceanus scene as an addition to an unauthentic play. He thinks that this addition has taken away the point of a once meaningful silence.

sisters are announced in lines 861-869, and are addressed in 870-873. What part they take in the great lyric laments of 874-1004 is a matter for editorial judgment. The attribution of parts in the manuscripts is haphazard and often inappropriate. For what it is worth, M attributes nothing to the sisters before line 933⁸¹; but we should probably allow the MS no authority on the matter of the attribution of parts.⁸² On internal grounds both the longer stanzas of 874ff and the antiphonal lines 961ff must be distributed between at least two parties; but there is nowhere any clear sign of anything that should be attributed to the sisters, except for lines 996-997 towards the end.⁸³ Thirdly, there is a phrase in the introductory anapaests (866) which suggests that the chorus sang first, before the sisters. (I shall return to this awkward phrase later.) On these grounds nearly all editors who have allowed the sisters in their text at all have distributed 874-960 among the parts of the chorus, and the antiphonal part 961-1004 between the two sisters with an occasional contribution from the chorus. This is also advocated by Lloyd-Jones in the most important defence of the introduction of the sisters and of the final scene of the play.⁸⁴ This leaves us with the sisters silent from 870 to 960.

Once more this is not an "Aeschylean silence." No attention is drawn to it, no time is spent on it, no significance is given to it. The silence of the sisters tells us nothing of their emotional state, nor of the overall dramatic situation: they stand silent merely because it is not yet their turn to sing. But this is not a negligible or unobjectionable silence which can pass by unnoticed. They are conspicuously introduced in the anapaests 861ff. They are the chief mourners, the chief sufferers, the *δυσαδελφόταται* of all women (870f). And yet they are silent throughout the greater and more powerful part of the lament. We cannot possibly turn a blind eye to their silence; and yet the silence is empty and meaningless. For Bergk⁸⁵ this was "das Unglaubliche," and he rejected

⁸¹ Some editors report that 917ff is attributed to Ismene. Unfortunately Dawe did not publish collations of the distribution and attribution of speakers in the mss.

⁸² While the distribution of parts has been continuously transmitted, it seems possible, or even probable, that there was a stage when the attribution of parts was not marked in the text. This has been shown for Aristophanes by J. C. B. Lowe (*BICS* 9 [1962] 27ff); and there is no reason to think that the same is not true of tragedy. Recently published Ptolemaic papyri of Eur. *Erechtheus* and Men. *Sikyonios* have no attributions whatsoever.

⁸³ Those who think that the sisters are a later interpolation have to eliminate one or both of lines 996-997. If the sisters were introduced by Aeschylus, then the lack of any other explicitly personal lament is most peculiar.

⁸⁴ *CQ* N.S. 9 (1959) 80ff, in particular 104-108.

⁸⁵ *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* III (Berlin 1884) 303.

the sisters from Aeschylus' play. This pointless silence is a weighty weapon in the considerable armoury of those who reject the sisters. Fraenkel⁸⁶ has attempted to reinforce it by a particular observation on the dramatic technique. He claimed that there is no other character in surviving tragedy who is introduced by formal entrance-announcement and yet is silent. It is indeed generally the case that characters speak immediately on entry. The dramatist would not normally want to bring on a character unless he had something to say. At a rough count, only one character out of seven in Greek tragedy does not speak as soon as he enters. Naturally there will be even fewer who do not speak when an announcement has drawn special attention to their entry. Yet there are at least three other exceptions to Fraenkel's rule: I have noted Antigone at Sophocles' *Ant.* 376ff, and Pylades at Euripides' *IT* 456ff and *Or.* 1013ff. At the same time there are important differences between these cases and that of the sisters in *Seven*. Antigone looks at the ground and maintains a stubborn silence in defiance of Creon. Creon draws attention to the gesture at 441f. And Pylades was always, after the precedent of *Cho.*, an exceptional figure, who was allowed to speak and be silent in unusual ways.⁸⁷ So, while Fraenkel's precise point cannot stand, the general observation still holds good. When attention is drawn to a silent character the silence should have some point. That of the sisters does not.

In his defence of the sisters, Lloyd-Jones does not seem to have appreciated fully the awkwardness of their silence. All he does (p. 101f) is to refer to the laments for Hector in *Iliad* 24. 719ff, and to equate the chorus in *Seven* with the *θρήνων ἑξαρχοι* of l. 721 there. But this does not really ease our problem. Firstly, Homer does not recite the lament of the professional leaders; he is only interested in the chief mourners, Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen. But the tragedian cannot pass over the passage of time in this way. So, in the play, the lament is dominated by the "ἑξάρχοι," and the women of the family merely supply the tail end of it. Homer is not comparable because of the differences between epic and tragic technique. Secondly, even if Homer were comparable, the Homeric procedure is unclear, and the text uncertain.⁸⁸ In fact the Homer passage has been used as an argument that the sisters in *Seven* must sing first, before the chorus.⁸⁹ In *Iliad* each of the three women

⁸⁶ *Mus. Helv.* 21 (1964) 58-59.

⁸⁷ See H. Kaffenberger, *Das Dreischauspielergesetz in der gr. Trag.* (Darmstadt 1911) 13-20.

⁸⁸ Lloyd-Jones' quotation on p. 102 (which should be numbered 719-722) omits two difficult half-lines.

⁸⁹ For example, Weil (ed. Giessen 1862) on 845 in his numeration, Sidgwick ed. Oxford 1903) 58f.

inaugurates a lament (ἦρχε 723, ἐξῆρχε 747, 761); after each of them there is a communal lamentation (746 cf. 722, 760, 776). This suggests that it is the three women of the family who are the ἐξάρχουι of 721, and the other mourners who are the γυναῖκες of 722. In that case, if *Seven* is to follow Homer, the sisters should, as one would expect, sing first, and the chorus follow.

This argument and the “unbelievable” silence of the sisters has led a few editors,⁹⁰ including Murray in the Oxford Text, to give a part to the sisters in the main portion of the lament (874–960). Nearly all those scholars who have accepted the introduction of the sisters have taken this way of avoiding the embarrassing silence; although Lloyd-Jones is an exception. It may be objected that there is absolutely no sign in the song that the sisters took part in it (contrast Xerxes in the last part of *Pers.*), and that this gives the chorus too little part in the last scenes of the play (again contrast the similarly structured final lyrics of *Pers.*)⁹¹: but there is nothing in the lyrics which actually contradicts the theory. The chief objection lies in the introductory anapaests. There we read (866–869): ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότερον φήμης / τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ’ ὕμνον Ἐρινύος / ἰαχεῖν Αἰδα τ’ / ἐχθρόν παιᾶν’ ἐπιμέλπειν. As it stands the chorus are clearly saying that it is right for them to sing first before the φήμη of the sisters. A later scholion (not in M) paraphrases neatly ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκαιον πρότερον τῶν παρθένων κατάρχεσθαι τοῦ γόου. The scholion in M also seems to take the sentence in this sense, since it has δίκαιον ἡμᾶς προκατάρχεσθαι ὥς προακουσάσας, ὑπακούειν δὲ ἐκείνας: though this excuse for singing first — that they heard the news first — is patently absurd. When, in the anapaests, the chorus say that they will sing first, they cannot be referring only to 870–873; and so it follows that, if Aeschylus composed the anapaests as we have them, then he cannot have meant the sisters to sing in the first part of the lament. Or to put the matter from the other side “carmen amoebaeum 874–960 ab hemichoriis etiam histrio ille voluit” (Wilamowitz *ed. maj.* p. 116 s.v. *actio*).

So far this discussion has, like the scholiasts, taken πρότερον φήμης to mean “before their song.” But this use of πρότερον with the genitive, as equivalent to πρό, while common in Herodotus, is not found at all in tragedy. This led Lloyd-Jones (p. 101) to consider emendation of the text by inserting a phrase after φήμης which would give the word

⁹⁰ First suggested by Bergk *Philologus* 12 (1857) 579.

⁹¹ Wilamowitz pointed out (above, n. 14) 69 that if the sisters and the final scene are cut out, then the long closing lyrics make a fine symmetry with the early lyrics in the play.

a different construction. This had been first suggested by Weil (above, n. 89), not on stylistic grounds, but in order to allow the sisters to sing in the first part of the lament. Weil noted that the scholion in M (quoted above) seemed to be not a gloss but an expansion of our text; and he offered <ἐπακουσάσας>. Sidgwick, who developed Weil's arguments, offered the considerably better addition <τῶνδε κλυούσας>. Sidgwick's text then means, presumably, "it is right for us, having first listened to their song, to sing . . ." ⁹² This makes good sense, and allows the sisters to sing in the main portion of the lyrics. But it does not resemble the sense of the scholiast in M. It is hardly legitimate to base an emendation on a scholion, and then to reject the scholion. ⁹³ If the scholion is once discarded as a foolish expansion of the transmitted text, then the only grounds for emendation will be that both the language and the resultant dramatic technique are not Aeschylean. Those who emend on these grounds alone beg the question of authenticity.

So it seems that those who want to defend the anapaests 861ff and the introduction of the sisters as the work of Aeschylus are faced with a choice of two main alternatives. Either they can leave the text as it is transmitted, and then try to defend the Herodotean phrase and to defend the silence of the sisters which it sanctions: or they can, like Sidgwick, emend away the construction and the silence at one blow, but without any external justification. Those who attack the anapaests and the sisters as a later addition are in a much stronger position. They point out that *πρότερον φήμης* makes perfectly good sense, although, like the rest of the anapaests, it is eccentrically expressed. ⁹⁴ And they observe that the interpolator himself, with little sense of dramatic

⁹² Lloyd-Jones takes it to mean "And it is right that we who have heard the news before they did, should follow them in singing . . ." (p. 101). But, while a possible translation, this hardly makes good sense.

⁹³ Weil half admits this when he says "fortasse plura habuit, sed male interpretatus est auctor scholii." Lloyd-Jones (p. 101) is the first to have produced an emendation which actually follows the scholiast, by adding <τῶνδε κλυούσας προκατάρχεσθαι. / κείνας δὲ πάλιν>. But this has the worst of both worlds. For it puts the absurdity of the scholion (we heard first, so we sing first) into the text itself, and yet it still does not allow the sisters to sing in 874ff. Lloyd-Jones takes the word *προκατάρχεσθαι* from the scholiast, although it is a late prose word, whose only early occurrence is in Thucydides and then in a different sense. I have noted the word in the scholia on Homer *Od.* 19.356 and Eur. *Med.* 475, and in view of *προ-ακουσάσας* later in the scholion, we must regard it simply as a scholiast's prosaic word for *προ-κατάρχεσθαι*, i.e. *κατάρχεσθαι* before someone else.

⁹⁴ Perhaps the strangest feature is the author's incongruous obsession with breasts (864-865, 870-871).

technique, wanted the sisters to stand by in pointless and vacuous silence during the main part of the lament. Aeschylus himself did not introduce the silence, and so it is no matter that it is not an "Aeschylean silence."

Finally I want to consider the alleged silences of Clytemnestra in *Agamemnon*. Throughout *Agam.* the indications of the entrances and exits of Clytemnestra are unusually inexplicit, perhaps because of the newly available *κηνή* door (cf. n. 31). Most commentators have supposed that during the first two thirds of the play Clytemnestra makes a series of short, incisive and dominant appearances: 258-350, 587-614, 855-974, 1035-1068.⁹⁵ On the other hand there is nothing in the text which can show conclusively that Clytemnestra did not stay on in between these contributions. Denniston and Page⁹⁶ have favoured the view that Clytemnestra was present continuously from 40 to 1068, and they have found some followers. I contend that there are reasons for thinking that DP are mistaken, and that the usual account of Clytemnestra's exits and entrances is right. The arguments are long and complex. I shall concentrate here on the silences involved in DP's view; for on this account there are long stretches of the play when Clytemnestra stands silently by, taking no part in the dialogue, and completely unnoticed by the others who are speaking or singing.⁹⁷

DP do not refer to *Frogs* 911f, though, needless to say, others have.⁹⁸ Nonetheless, they do not regard the silences as insignificant technical necessities. We read that they are "dramatically effective" (p. 76), that "the tension and power of the scenes . . . are greatly enhanced by her presence, and particularly by her silence, throughout" (p. 117). The key phrase appears in Page's Introduction (p. xxxii): "All this time, ever since the entry of the chorus, the sinister figure of Clytemnestra has been visible to the spectators, *mutely significant in the background*"

⁹⁵ There is disagreement over the precise timing of these movements. I have given the line numbers which I would myself advocate.

⁹⁶ *Aeschylus Agamemnon* (Oxford 1957) 117; cited hereafter as DP.

⁹⁷ Even this discussion will have to be curt, and it makes no attempt to document the vast scholarly bibliography. DP p. 117 compare Medea in Eur. *Med.* for a continuous presence of over 1,000 lines. But in fact the differences in the handling of Medea argue for the contrary. For Medea, unlike Clytemnestra, is central to every scene and takes part in every dialogue (and she is on during 200 lines of lyric, while Clytemnestra would be on during 500 lines). One might also contrast Prometheus in Aesch. *Prom.*, Oedipus in Soph. *OC*, and Hecuba in Eur. *Tro.*

⁹⁸ For example, Prickard *CR* 14 (1900) 435; Schmid-Stählin *GLG* I 2 p. 263; Murray, *Aeschylus* (Oxford 1940) 209.

(my italics). It is one of the purposes of this paper to question this phrase as virtually a contradiction in terms. A character in Greek tragedy may be mutely significant in the *foreground* like Niobe or Achilles, or mutely *insignificant* in the background like Danaus.

Each of the alleged silences is in a different dramatic context, and should be considered by itself. If Clytemnestra were silently present during the entire first song (*parodos*, 40–257⁹⁹), then, although she would be completely neglected for the rest, she would be the centre of attention during the anapaests 83–103. In these lines the chorus urgently asks her what news she has, and why she should be ordering sacrifices. After l. 103 there is no reply, and the chorus embarks on the strophic part of the song. If Clytemnestra is there, then what does this remarkable lack of reply signify? In performance, either there is a pause while the chorus waits for an answer, and Clytemnestra does not deign to give one: or the chorus, after its urgent questions, does not even wait for a reply. And what are we then to make of her silence throughout the rest of the song? After the direct attention that has been drawn to her by 83ff, she can hardly be neglected like Danaus and Electra during the first songs of *Supp.* and *Cho.* (see p. 81 above). We are told by the commentators that she is busy with her sacrifices, or that she is “in an agony of silent prayer at an altar.”¹⁰⁰ But the sacrifices merely supply a pretext for the silence, they do not give it any dramatic significance. And at the end of this long and cryptic silence, in the lines 258–263 which resume the questions of 83ff, the chorus ends κλύοιμ’ ἄν ἐφ’ ἑρῶν· οὐδὲ κυώσῃ φθόρος. Surely in the circumstances there should either be no reference to the silence or a proper explanation. This passing courtesy would verge on the ridiculous.¹⁰¹

There is no real dramatic gain in Clytemnestra’s long and unexplained silence. It is doubtful even if it surrounds her with a vaguely “sinister” aura, since we are given no guidance towards this in 83ff. If, on the other hand, we suppose that Clytemnestra does not first enter until the end of the song then there are no problematical silences. It is common in Greek tragedy for the chorus to apostrophise a character who is not present; and the questions in 83ff are closely paralleled in the relevant respects by Sophocles’ *Ajax* 134ff and Euripides’ *Hipp.*

⁹⁹ Many commentators, perhaps half, have brought on Clytemnestra at line 83. My objections apply to them also.

¹⁰⁰ Murray (above, n. 98) 209. How does one stage this picture (which one suspects is taken from Renaissance painting)?

¹⁰¹ There is a good note on this in Hense’s *Anhang* to the 2nd ed. of Schneidewin’s commentary (Berlin 1883) 177f.

141ff¹⁰²: in each case the chorus, who are ignorant of important information, ask their master or mistress, who is still within the building, what is the matter. The lines help to motivate the presence of the chorus and to build up tension toward the eventual entry of the ruler. If Clytemnestra's entry is held back until she is to speak, then she can immediately display that powerful incisiveness which verges on omniscience, and which is much more sinister than hollow silence.

When DP suggest that Clytemnestra is present between 351 and 586, they do not suppose that she is silent all this time, since they attribute to her the announcement of the approach of the Herald in 489ff. Entrance-announcements in Aeschylus are almost always made by the chorus or *coryphaeus*, and there are not sufficient reasons for an exception here. The manuscript attribution to Clytemnestra is of no authority (see n. 82), and the asyndeton at 501 is not intolerable.¹⁰³ οὐτε col in l. 496 is objectionably specific whoever speaks the line, and a simple emendation lies to hand in οὐτε μοι.¹⁰⁴ In favour of Clytemnestra, A. M. Dale¹⁰⁵ adds the further arguments that the speech is too long and too ornate to be spoken by the *coryphaeus*. But for length compare *Pers.* 215-224, *Eum.* 245-253 (and in Euripides, *Her.* 252-274, *Hel.* 317-329); and for elaborately worded entry-announcements compare *Seven* 369ff, *Cho.* 730ff. It has also been argued¹⁰⁶ that the lines are characteristic of Clytemnestra and out of character for the chorus. But the contrary seems to be the case. Clytemnestra has no doubts; the Herald can resolve nothing for her, see 587ff. The uncertainty of 489ff arises directly out of the doubts in the final epode of the preceding song (475ff).¹⁰⁷ It is the chorus, not Clytemnestra, who are beset by uncertainties which the Herald can dispel. And the language of the chorus is determined, not by their overall "character," but by their dramatic function at any particular juncture: contrast for example *Agam.* 1649ff

¹⁰² See Kranz (above, n. 79) 63ff, Fraenkel (above, n. 60) II 51f. DP p. 76 beg the question when they claim that the questions in *Agam.* expect an answer, while those in *Hipp.* "in the context" do not. For the most important feature of the context is the presence or absence of the person apostrophised. If Phaedra were present, the questions would expect an answer; if Clytemnestra was not present during 388ff, then "in the context" the questions could not expect an answer.

¹⁰³ See Fraenkel (above, n. 60) II 253.

¹⁰⁴ I find that this has already been suggested by Butler and Kirchhoff. Alternatively Hermann suggested οὐτε του.

¹⁰⁵ *Collected Papers* (above, n. 34) 215.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Prickard (above, n. 98) 436.

¹⁰⁷ See Kranz (above, n. 7) 166.

with 1346ff. So here their words arouse lively anticipation.

Whoever speaks 489ff, Clytemnestra would still be silent and unnoticed before and after these lines, if she were on stage. There can be no objection to her silent and neglected presence during the long lyric 355–488, though no dramatic significance can be attached to it (see p. 81 and n. 71). Her unnoticed silence throughout 503–586 is more awkward. It has no point, it tells us nothing; it is apparently a mere technical necessity. And l. 585f are strange in this situation. Is Clytemnestra not permitted to speak until formally invited to do so by the *coryphaeus*? Yet DP claim (p. 116) that it is “as certain as such things can be”¹⁰⁸ that Clytemnestra is present, because she has to acquire the information that Agamemnon has arrived. This kind of precise calculation of detail, as though the work of art were a slice of life, should long ago have been discarded as a consideration for the critic of Greek tragedy.¹⁰⁹ By keeping on this literal-minded level DP have failed to appreciate how Aeschylus has built up a picture of Clytemnestra as supremely competent and almost omniscient. The chorus — and the audience — doubt and dither: Clytemnestra knows everything and sets about appropriate action. DP (p. 117) think that Clytemnestra enhances the tension and power of the scene by her unnoticed and inexplicable silence in the background. But maybe she is a more powerful figure if she is most of the time inside the palace, and liable at any time to make a short incisive intervention. Thus the moment that attention turns to her at 585f she is there at the door, almost as though she knew that thoughts had turned to her. She knows, without being told, who the Herald is, and she has no need of him. She echoes and derides the earlier doubts of the chorus (587ff cf. 475ff), although she was not present to hear them. This is not realistic: but on a dramatic level it works.

Clytemnestra is next supposed to be present, silent in the background, from 615 to 854. Again this cannot be regarded as a significant silence. No attention is drawn to Clytemnestra's presence nor to her silence, and no guidance is given toward their interpretation. The audience, if not downright bewildered, can do no more than feel that she is vaguely sinister. DP's argument (p. 117) that she has to be present during 636ff

¹⁰⁸ This phrase may be inspired, ironically, by Housman on the same question in *JPh* 16 (1888) 265: “it is as certain as anything about Greek plays can be certain that Clytemnestra is not now on stage.” This suggests that “certainty” is not an appropriate epistemological state for the critic of Greek plays.

¹⁰⁹ DP themselves reject it in their note on l. 1444.

in order to know that Menelaus and the rest of the army have not returned is again subject to the objections of the previous paragraph. Aeschylus is producing a play, not a detective's reconstruction of the crime. Clytemnestra's presence during the first speech of Agamemnon is open to a precise objection. In the last four lines (851-854) he says that he will now go inside. Although he does not in fact leave the chariot, his intention is clear and explicit. This means that, if Clytemnestra were there all the time, Agamemnon would be about to go inside without even acknowledging her presence. This would call for an explanation, and yet there is none. DP do not consider this point; but it may be hinted at when they say (p. 138) "Agamemnon shows no awareness of her presence during 810-854; but neither does she address him at 855." This is misleadingly worded. It is true that Agamemnon shows no awareness of Clytemnestra during 810-854 (she is not there): but her indirect address in 855ff shows very great awareness of Agamemnon's presence, a more telling awareness than if she had addressed him directly.¹¹⁰ By having Clytemnestra present in the background before l. 855, DP destroy what is, I suggest, one of the most powerful dramatic situations in the play. Agamemnon declares that he will enter his own house: at that moment Clytemnestra enters and stands in control of his threshold. Agamemnon prays that *vúcn* may continue to stay with him: at that moment his conqueror appears before him.¹¹¹ The king can only enter his house on Clytemnestra's terms, and those terms mean defeat and death.

The very entertainment of the idea that Clytemnestra might not exit at 974 suggests that DP do not consider stage action as a significant part of the play as a whole.¹¹² Not only would the silent and pointless presence of Clytemnestra during the song 975ff detract from the calculatedly mysterious presence of Cassandra (see pp. 77-78 above), it would destroy the significance of the stage action at 974. Clytemnestra has to follow Agamemnon inside, for this visually ratifies her control

¹¹⁰ This point is well brought out by Dale (above, n. 34) 219-220.

¹¹¹ Cf. Neustadt, *Hermes* 64 (1929) 262.

¹¹² So far as I can see, they take no account of the important observations on the place of stage action in *Agam.* made by Reinhardt (above, n. 62) 79ff. (The book appeared too late to be used by Fraenkel.) Page's *Introduction*, especially xxii. n. 1 and xxx f, shows that he considers the visual element in Aeschylus to be an extraneous extravaganza added to please the mob, and not an integral and meaningful part of the plays. This view, based on a misunderstanding of Aristophanes and encouraged by Aristotle's *Poetics*, is already to be found in the ancient scholarship. It is, as I hope to argue fully elsewhere, both mistaken and destructively misleading.

over him. This scene is the archetype for us — and quite possibly for later Greek tragedians also — of the scenes when an “avenger” lures his “victim” indoors, and then stays on for a few lines of prayer or of gloating before following him in.¹¹³ “Tragedy is to be seen as well as heard,” as Page himself maintains (DP p. xxix f). This means that the good playwright will make the sight of the play and its stage action a significant and essential part of his work. The series of confident and powerful appearances by Clytemnestra in *Agam.* contribute to the meaning of the play as a whole, in a way that a series of “sinister” yet unexplained silences do not.

IV

So far as Aeschylean silences are concerned this discussion has been largely negative (though I hope it has been positive in other ways). Some silences have been eliminated altogether, others have been marked as insignificant, still others have been allowed as significant only in their ending. Only two silences, those of Cassandra and Prometheus, have been admitted as candidates for the title of an “Aeschylean silence”; and even those can only be accepted after serious qualification. This surprisingly negative classification has arisen out of a comparison of the surviving silences with what we know of those of Niobe and Achilles. This comparison called for silences which are the object of direct attention, so that the questions arise why the person is silent, and how and when he will break his silence.

Now it might be objected that these criteria are too exclusive, and that Aeschylus cannot be expected to supply other silences which are given so much dramatic attention. But the objection cannot hold, since Sophocles and Euripides both give us examples of silences which, though on a slighter scale than Niobe and Achilles, share many of their chief characteristics. Consider the silence of Oedipus in the face of the pleas of his son Polynices at Soph. *OC* 1254ff. Polynices’ first approach is met at 1270 by silence. τί γὰρ; he asks in an isolated baccheus (1271). After three lines of pleading with Oedipus to speak Polynices turns to his sisters (1275ff) to help move τὸ δυσπρόσοιστον κἀπρὸς ἡγόρον στόμα. On Antigone’s advice to tell the whole story, Polynices puts his case in full (1284–1345). At the end of it the vital question is whether Oedipus will speak, and if so in what terms. The chorus ask him to

¹¹³ Some examples are Soph. *El.* 1376ff; Eur. *Her.* 726ff, *El.* 1142ff, *Or.* 1349ff, (*Ba.* 847ff). There is a parody at Eur. *Cycl.* 599ff.

speak (1346f). Oedipus begins quietly, and says that but for Theseus Polynices should not have heard his voice (1348-1351). He then quickens into virulent curses on his son (1352ff). Polynices goes, a broken man. Oedipus' silence holds back his implacable resentment: its breaking marks one of the harshest moments in Sophocles.¹¹⁴ Consider by contrast the silence of Neoptolemus during Philoctetes' pleas at *Phil.* 927ff. Repeatedly Philoctetes begs him to return the bow or at least to speak (931-935, 950f). He takes Neoptolemus' averted face and immovable silence to mean that he is determined against him, when in fact it betokens the anguish of his change of heart. When Neoptolemus speaks it is in pity (965f), and soon he is on the point of returning the bow (974). Neoptolemus' silence here is the most moving of a whole series of silences which accompany the development of his moral course in the play.¹¹⁵ Note also the silence of Iole at *Trach.* 307ff, 320ff. The silence is not broken, nor are we asked to consider the emotion behind it; but, rather like Cassandra in *Agam.*, the silence surrounds the girl with mystery and disquiet.

Euripides, despite the role which Aristophanes gives him in the *Frogs*, also makes silences the object of dramatic attention, and puts them to significant use. When at *Hipp.* 288ff the Nurse tries to elicit from the lovesick Phaedra the cause of her distemper, she is met with silence (297, 300).¹¹⁶ Only when she names Hippolytus does she break through the barrier, and Phaedra cries out οἴμοι (310). Then Phaedra speaks, and disaster follows. Again later in the play Theseus is silent when faced with the questions of Hippolytus (909ff). Indeed, the whole play may be seen as founded on the failure to be silent and to speak out at the right times.¹¹⁷ In the final scene of *Her.*, when Heracles sees the approach of Theseus, he covers his head, like Niobe and Achilles, and lies in silence (1153ff). During lines 1204-1228 Amphitryon and Theseus try to persuade Heracles to uncover his head, to stand and to speak. Heracles lies silent beneath the despair and pollution of death. To make him look and speak is a crucial stage in bringing him back to

¹¹⁴ On this scene see P. Easterling, *PCPhS* N.S. 13 (1967) iff.

¹¹⁵ I have tried to trace the place of these silences in the play in *GRBS* 12 (1971) 32-35.

¹¹⁶ It is Phaedra's third day without food (*την τρίτην . . . ἡμέραν* 275). This is reminiscent of Niobe's third day of silence in l. 6 of the papyrus fragment of Aeschylus, see p. 61 above. It also connects, interestingly, with the nine days during which Niobe did not eat, which are recalled at *Iliad* 24.609ff. This is Achilles speaking to Priam in the scene on which Aesch. *Phryg.* was modelled. Notice also that Phaedra, while silent, is veiled (245ff, 250).

¹¹⁷ This is brought out well by Knox *YCS* 13 (1952) 3ff.

life. Like Marina with Shakespeare's Pericles, Amphitryon and Theseus have to revivify Heracles. This, we may suppose, is broadly similar to the silence and revival of Niobe in Aeschylus, though much briefer and less central to the play.¹¹⁸ Contrast with Heracles silent διὰ συμφορὰν the silence of Eurydice silent δι' ἀνθαδείαν in *Hypsipyle*. Before the beginning of fr. 60 Hypsipyle is pleading in vain with the Queen for her life. In l. 5f (p. 40 Bond) she makes a final plea; but she is met with ominous silence. *κυῆς; ἀμείβῃ δ' οὐδέν; ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ* (7).¹¹⁹ In final desperation Hypsipyle calls on Amphiaraus to save her (15ff). When nothing happens and there is still no response from the Queen, Hypsipyle tells her guards to lead her away (20f). At that moment Amphiaraus arrives.¹²⁰

These silences from Sophocles and Euripides are all, like a true "Aeschylean silence," the object of direct dramatic attention while they are in progress. They do not become of interest only when they are broken. If once we start looking for silences which are used in that indirect way (as was done for Aeschylus on pp. 79–80), then we soon find that sort of silence is used rather more often in Sophocles and Euripides than in Aeschylus.¹²¹ This is not surprising since they have more characters and more scenes in their plays.

Questions about the silence which are put to the silent character — *τί φής; κυῆς;* and suchlike¹²² — are a recurrent feature of the silences in Sophocles and Euripides which are given attention while in progress. This has no precedent in Aeschylus' surviving plays, except perhaps the question which the Erinyes put to Orestes at *Eum.* 303 (see p. 79 above). Yet it was common enough in later tragedy to be picked up and used by Aristophanes. Thus when Euripides' old relative addresses Agathon at *Thesm.* 130ff in what he takes to be appropriate style, he throws in the questions *τί φής; τί κυῆς;* (144). When some of Lysi-

¹¹⁸ It is possible that Euripides' Hecuba, who lies prostrate with grief throughout the prologue of *Tro.* (1–97), is under the influence of the picture of Aeschylus' Niobe. However, nothing in particular is made of the silence of Hecuba nor of the breaking of it, so the connection is only remote.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 951 *τί φής; κυῆς; οὐδέν εἰμ' ὁ δύνμορος*. Unlike the editions, I have punctuated both *Hyps.* and *Phil.* as double questions.

¹²⁰ At l. 43 (p. 41 Bond) Eurydice has her head veiled. Unfortunately we cannot tell whether her head was covered before Amphiaraus arrived.

¹²¹ Here are some examples without any comment or distinction: Soph. *Trach.* 335, 813ff, *Ant.* 1244ff (cf. *OT* 1073ff?), *El.* 788; Eur. *Hkld.* 983, *Hipp.* 669, *Hec.* 342, *El.* 647, *Hel.* 625, *Phoen.* 977, *Or.* 1069, 1177, *IA* 641, 1211, 1368.

¹²² As well as the passages considered above, cf. Eur. *Ion* 582, *Phoen.* 960, fr. 126, 1008.

strata's confederates arrive late, she puts on a solemn air of disappointment which provokes $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\phi\eta\grave{\iota}\varsigma$; $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\iota\gamma\hat{\alpha}\varsigma$; (70). But before long (125–128) the averted face and shocked silence greet her proposal in turn.¹²³ So it is curious to find that Aeschylus' own "Aeschylean silence" at *Frogs* 83off (see p. 60 above) is questioned ($\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\iota\gamma\hat{\alpha}\varsigma$; 832) in a style which is probably not taken from him but from later tragedians.

When a Greek tragedian means something to be important or significant, then he draws his audience's attention to it. Whether it be a silence, a theme, a stage action, an image, a religious or intellectual problem, he will put it in the foreground, and spend time and words on it. Only that man who sets himself up as more knowing than the playwright can look for the significance of the work in the background, or between the lines, or in what is neglected and not said. What is meant to be significant is there in the words in the foreground.¹²⁴

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¹²³ P. Rau *Paratragodia* (Munich 1967) 152ff may well be right to regard Philocleon's silence at *Wasps* 715–748 as a tragic silence, in view of the language which precedes and ends it. Philocleon would maintain a tragic pose or gesture throughout. (This escapes MacDowell [ed. Oxford 1971] on 741.)

¹²⁴ I am grateful to friends who have read all or part of this paper. I have a special debt to Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones.

THE DATE OF *HERODOTUS* IV.1 DARIUS' SCYTHIAN EXPEDITION

JACK MARTIN BALCER

IG XIV.1297 (*Tabula Capitolina*) 3" × 3½", inscribed in A.D. 15 (PL. I):¹

- I.1 [- - - - -] κ[. .] ο[- - -].
 2 [Ἀφ' οὗ Σύλλας] ἐπὶ Μιθ[ρα]-
 [δατικὸν πόλ] ἐμον ἐξ ἡλ[θεν]
 [καὶ] Σωτήρ ὁ Φύσκων πα[ρ]-
 5 [ἦν] τὸ δεύτερον καὶ κα[τελ]-
 θῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐβασίλε-
 υσεν· ἀφ' οὗ ἔτη ΡΓ' .
 Ἀφ' οὗ Μάριος Ὀστίαν καταλα-
 βόμενος καὶ ἀναγκάσας συν[θέσ]-
 10 θαι, οὐκ ἐμμείνας τῇ πίστει
 Ὀκτάουιον ἀπέκτεινεν, Σύλλας
 δ' ἐπὶ τῇ<ι>ς Ἀττικῆς Ἀθήνας
 ἐξεπολιόρκησεν, ἔτη ΡΒ' .
 Ἀφ' οὗ Φιμβρίας Μιθραδάτου στ-
 15 ρατόπεδον περὶ Κύζικον
 ἐνίκησεν καὶ Ἴλιον ἐξεπο-
 λιόρκησεν καὶ ὑπὸ Σύλλα
 συνσχεθεὶς αὐτὸν ἀνεί-

¹ Palombino marble, decorated on back with figures of horses and warriors; front, two columns of minuscule Greek lettering; now in Capitoline Museum, Rome. W. Henzen, "Eine neuentdeckte griechische Zeittafel," *RhM* IX (1854) 161-178; *CIG* IV.6855d. I am deeply grateful to Professor G. G. Cameron University of Michigan, who read this manuscript and offered his suggestions. I refer often in these notes to his wise counsel and comments. To the Fellows of the Center for Hellenic Studies (1969-1970) for their deep concern and careful criticism of this paper, I am most indebted. I am also very grateful to Professor A. E. Raubitschek, Stanford University, for his warm interest and numerous helpful suggestions; to Professor R. Hallock, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, for his reading of this manuscript, and suggestions; and to Professor M. Putnam, Brown University, for his assistance in obtaining the photograph of *IG* XIV.1297 from the Capitoline Museum.

- λεν καὶ Μιθραδάτης πρὸς
 20 Σύλλαν συνθήκας ἐποιή-
 σατο καὶ Φιλοπάτωρ τὸ
 δεύτερον εἰς Βιθυνίαν
 κατελθὼν ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ
 Ἀριοβαρζάνης εἰς Καππα-
 25 δοκίαν κατήχθη· ἀφ' οὗ ἔτη Ρ'.
 Ἀφ' οὗ Σύλλας Νωρβανὸν νικᾷ
 περὶ Καπύην καὶ Μάριον τὸν
 ὕπατον ἐν Πραεnéστῳ συν-
 κλείσας διαδιδράσκοντα
 30 ἀπέκτεινεν· ἀφ' οὗ ἔτη ϞΗ'.
 [Ἀφ'] οὗ Σύλλας δικτάτωρ ἐγένετο,
 [ἐ]τη μέχρι τοῦδε ϞΖ'.
 [Ἀφ' οὗ Σωτήρ] ὁ Φύσκων ἐπι-
 [κληθεὶς ἀπέθα]γεν, ἔτη ϞΓ'.
 35 [Ἀφ' οὗ --]ιφιλα
 [-----]π[--].

- II.8 Ἀφ' [οὗ -----]
 το[----- ἔτη ----].
 10 Ἀφ' οὗ Σ[όλων ἤρξεν Ἀθηναίων καὶ]
 νόμου[ς αὐτοῖς ἔθηκεν, καὶ]
 Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκ[ύθης εἰς Ἀθήνας]
 παρεγένετο· ἀφ' [οὗ ἔτη ...].
 Ἀφ' οὗ Κροῖσος Λυδῶν ἐβα[σίλευσεν, ἔτη ...].
 15 Ἀφ' οὗ οἱ σοφοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν, [ἔτη ...].
 Ἀφ' οὗ Πεισίστρατος ἐτυράννευ[σεν ἐν Ἀθή]-
 ναις καὶ Αἴσωπος ὑπὸ Δελφῶν [κατεκρη]-
 μνίσθη, ἔτη ΦΟΘ'.
 Ἀφ' οὗ Κροῖσος Κύρῳ ὑποχείριος [ἐγένετο, ἔτη ...].
 20 Ἀφ' οὗ Καμβύσης Αἴγυπτον κατέ[στρέψατο]
 καὶ Πυθαγόρας ἐάλω, ἔτη ΦΜ'.
 Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτωρ [Ἰπ]-
 παρχον τὸν τύραννον ἀνείλον [καὶ]
 Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ Σκύθας διέβη ζεύ[ξ]α[ς τὸν]
 25 Κιμμέριον [Β]ώσπορον, ἔτη ΦΚΗ'.
 Ἀφ' οὗ Εἰρήνης κ[α]τ' Ἀβυδὸν ζεύξας [τὸν]
 Ἑλλήσποντο[ν] διέβη καὶ Θεμ[ισ]-
 τοκλῆς ναυμαχία τοὺς βαρ[βά]-
 ρους ἐνίκᾳ· ἀφ' οὗ ἔτη ΥϞ[.].

- 30 Ἀφ'οὗ Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος [καὶ Ἡρά]-
 κλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀναξα[γόρας]
 καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ζήνων, ἔτη [...].
 Ἀφ'οὗ ὁ Πελοποννησιακὸς πόλ[εμος]
 ἐνέστη καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἦν, ἔτη [...].
 35 Ἀφ'οὗ Γαλάται Ῥωμαίους νικῆ[σαντες]
 ἔσχον Ῥώμην, ἔτη ΥΑ'.
 [Ἀφ'οὗ ----]αν εἰς [----].

I.4-5. πα[ρῆν] for πα[ρακληθεῖς].

I.33-4. ἐπι[κληθεῖς] for ἐπι[καλούμενος].

II.12. Either [εἰς Ἀθήνας] or [εἰς Ἑλλάδα].

II.24. Kaibel *IG* XIV.1297 omits διέβη.

II.25. Kaibel's transcription proposes ΦΚΡ, which Henzen and Curtius recorded as ΦΚΗ'. Kaibel's edition, however, retains ΦΚΗ'. *TC* preserves the right vertical for Η'.

TRANSLATION

- I.1 [- - - - -].
 2 From which time, Sulla
 started the Mithradatic War
 and Soter Physkon for
 5 the second time, setting out
 for Egypt, became king,
 from which time it has been 103 years.
 From which time, Marius taking Ostia
 and forced her into alliance,
 10 not remaining faithful
 he killed Octavian, and Sulla
 in Attica,
 besieged Athens and reduced it to surrender, it has been 102
 years.
 From which time, Fimbria conquered the camp of Mithradates
 15 at Kyzikos,
 and besieged Ilion
 and being imprisoned by
 Sulla, he killed himself,
 and Mithradates
 20 contracted an alliance with Sulla,
 and Philopator for the second time
 coming to Bithynia

- became king, and
 Ariobarzanes went to
 25 Cappadocia, from which time it has been 100 years.
 From which time, Sulla defeated Norbanos
 at Capua and confining
 Marius the consul
 in Praeneste, killed him as he
 30 attempted to escape, from which time it has been 98 years.
 From which time, Sulla became Dictator,
 up to this time it has been 97 years.
 From which time, Soter
 called Physkon died, it has been 96 years.
- 35 [-----]
 [-----].
- II.8 From which time [----].
 [the year . . .].
- 10 From which time, Solon [became archon of the Athenians and]
 [established] laws [for them, and]
 Anacharsis the Scythian
 came [to Athens.] From which [time it has been the year . . .].
 From which time, Croesus became king of the Lydians, [the
 year . . .].
- 15 From which time, the Sages were named, [the year . . .].
 From which time, Peisistratos became tyrant in Athens,
 and Aesop was thrown over the precipice by the Delphians,
 it has been 579 years.
 From which time, Croesus became subject to Cyrus, [the
 year . . .].
- 20 From which time, Cambyses subdued Egypt,
 and Pythagoras was captured, it has been 540 years.
 From which time, Harmodios and Aristogeiton
 killed the tyrant Hipparchos, and
 Darius crossed over against the Scythians
 25 bridging the Kimmerian Bosporos, it has been 527 years.
 From which time, Xerxes crossed over from Abydos
 bridging the Hellespont,
 and Themistokles in a naval battle conquered the bar-
 barians,
 from which time it has been 490+ years.
- 30 From which time, Socrates the philosopher,
 Herakleitos the Ephesian, and Anaxagoras,

- and Parmenides and Zeno, the year [. . .].
 From which time, the Peloponnesian War
 began, and Thucydides was, the year [. . .].
 35 From which time, the Gauls conquered the Romans and took
 Rome, it has been 401 years.
 [-----].

Lines II.22-26 link the assassination of Hipparchos (dated 514 B.C., twenty-four years prior to the battle of Marathon, Thuc. 6.57.3-59.4;² Hdt. 5.56, 6.123; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18.3) with Darius' expedition against the Scythians across the Cimmerian Bosphoros, dated to the year $\Phi K H'$, 528 = 513 B.C. (*sic*). Consequently, the passages of Herodotus 4.1, 83-144 (also Ktesias *FGrH* 688, F13.16-22; Polybius 4.42.2; Diodorus Siculus 10.19.5-6; Strabo 7.3.9 [*apud* Ephoros *FGrH* 70, F42]; Polyaeos 7.11; Justin 1.9-2.5) which describe the Scythian expedition have usually been dated 513, and occasionally 512 or 511. Macan³ considered 512 as the proper date for Darius' invasion of Europe, Prášek proposed 511/10,⁴ How and Wells argued 512,⁵ Olmstead wrote 513,⁶ Wade-Gery claimed 514 for the date of the expedition,⁷ Hammond cited *IG* XIV.1297 and implied 513,⁸ Bengtson preferred "um 513/2,"⁹ and while Burn criticized Hammond for relying "too implicitly on such rubbishy evidence" (i.e. *IG* XIV.1297), he claimed the invasion to be "in or not long before 513."¹⁰

Unfortunately, the *Tabula Capitolina* (TC) contains too many historical errors in col. II to be considered a sound document. While the Roman events of col. I, from Sulla's Mithradatic War and the accession of Ptolemy IX Soter II (called Physkon) in 88 B.C. to his death in 81 B.C., and col. II.35-36, the Gallic occupation of Rome in 386 B.C.

² Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.3, archonship of Phainippos, 490/489; *Marmor Parium* 48, Phainippides; Plut. *Arist.* 5; T. Cadoux, "The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides," *JHS* 68 (1948) 117.

³ R. Macan, *Herodotus* II (London 1895), "App. III. The Date, Motives, and Course of the Expedition of Dareios in Europe," 39.

⁴ J. Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser* II (Gotha 1910) 100.

⁵ W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford 1912) 431.

⁶ A. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago 1948) 141.

⁷ H. Wade-Gery, "Miltiades," *JHS* 71 (1951) 217.

⁸ N. Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (Oxford 1959) 179.

⁹ H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* (Munich 1960) 136-137.

¹⁰ A. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (New York 1962) 128. See also J. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, *Klio* XL.I (1939) 69, and *Dareios I, König der Perser* (Leipzig 1944) 103-105, for 513 B.C.; R. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland 1963) 117, for 510 B.C.; K. Kinzl, *Miltiades-Forschungen* (Vienna 1968) 106, for 514/3.

are in proper chronological order and accurately dated, the chronology of the Greek and Persian events, col. II.10-34, is faulty.

Analysis of this Greek and Persian section of the text indicates that *TC* col. II.10-34 was probably based on an Alexandrian chronology. The several nebulous parallel phrases to the *History* of Diodorus Siculus (fl. 60-30 B.C.) may indicate that *TC* col. II was based on the *History* and thus ultimately upon Ephoros (fl. 350-330 B.C.), on whose *History* Diodorus based his books 11-16.¹¹ Unfortunately, books 10 and 11 of Diodorus are fragmentary, and parallels cannot be found for all of the Greek and Persian events of *TC* col. II. In addition, two indefinite parallels in the other fragments of Ephoros can also be noted, *FGrH* 70.F42, and 191. However, with the fragmentary nature of Diodorus 10-11, and Ephoros, the likelihood of an Alexandrian chronography as the Greek source for *TC* is reasonable. Roman imperial chronologies (Diogenes Laertius and Eusebius) reflect similar events and dates as those recorded by *TC* and perhaps stem from the same Alexandrian text.

Column I records the Roman events from the beginning of the Mithradatic Wars to the death of Ptolemy IX Soter II, dated *PI'* to *ϑF'*. *TC* dates the Mithradatic Wars to *PI'*, 103 (= 88 B.C.), which Appian placed in Ol. 173.1: ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα <τρεις> ὀλυμπιάδες (12.3.17), 88 B.C.; and Livy (77) in the consulship of Sulla and Q. Pompeius, 88 B.C. Sulla's dictatorship (Livy 89) occurred in 82 B.C.,¹² which *TC* records as *ϑZ'*, 97 (= 82 B.C.). Consequently, the inscription is dated A.D. 15. The Roman list, however, is not based on the extant fragments of Diodorus, except perhaps I.11-13 which reflects Diodorus (or his Roman source) 38/39.6.1: Σύλλας γάρ . . . τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπικολισκίσας (L. Cornelius Cinna, Cos. I, 87 B.C.).¹³

The extant list of Greek and Persian events, II.9-24, culminates with II.35-37, the Gallic victory over the Romans and the subsequent occupation of Rome dated *YA'*, 401 (= 386 B.C.). *TC* follows Polybius (1.6.2), who dated the event in the year of the Peace of Antalcidas, in the nineteenth year after Aegospotami, 387-386 B.C.: Γαλάται δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἐλόντες αὐτὴν τὴν 'Ρώμην κατεῖχον πλὴν τοῦ Καπετωλίου'. Livy (5.33.1-

¹¹ G. Barber, *The History of Ephorus* (Cambridge [Eng.] 1935) vii-viii, App. I. 160-170; *PW RE*, Schwartz, "Ephoros," VI.6; F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* II.B (Berlin 1926) 23; C. Volquardsen, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen der griechischen und sicilischen Geschichten bei Diodor*, Buch xi-xvi (Kiel 1858) cf. Diod. Sic. 37.2.13, Sulla against Mithradates; 38/39.2, Marius and Octavius; 38/39.8.3, Fimbria at Cyzicus.

¹² T. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York 1952) 166-67.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

49.7) dated the invasion to 390, and the *Libri V Periocha* paraphrases Polybius: *Galli Senones . . . fuisque ad Aliam Romanis cepere urbem Praeter Capitolium*. Diodorus (14.113-117) dated the Gallic siege to 387, but invariably called the invaders *Κελτοί* (cf. *Κελτοί* in Appian 2.8.2),¹⁴ following Ephoros (*FGrH* 70. F30a-b, 132), Hdt. 2.33, 4.49, and Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.20. The first use of *Γαλάται* appears in Aris. Fr. 35 (Teubner): *παρά τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις τοὺς καλουμένους δρυΐδας καὶ σεμνοθέους* (cf. *Mu.* 393a28, 393b9-10). *Κελτοί* is nonepigraphical, while *Γαλάται* appears c. 230, Olbia (*SIG*³, 495.103-104, 108); c. 196, Lampsacus (*SIG*³, 591.49); and c. 117, Letai, Macedonia (*SIG*³. 700.1-2, 11). The current accepted date for the Gallic siege of Rome is 387.¹⁵

The Greek and Persian list presents an outline of the sixth and fifth centuries, although earlier events probably existed in the nonextant II.1-9, and perhaps included Minos, the Trojan War, Hesiod, Homer, Lykurgos, and Pheidon of Argos (cf. *Marm. Par.*).¹⁶ The events which followed II.37 probably emphasized Roman history, although they may have included Alexander III, perhaps Philip II, and subsequent Roman-Greek events similar to I.11-13, Sulla's siege and the forced surrender of Athens in *PB'*, 87 B.C. It would seem that col. II began with the Trojan War and continued to perhaps c. 120 B.C., and that col. I began with the events of c. 120 and continued to A.D. 15, when the inscribed plaque was erected. In the first year of Tiberius' reign, someone commissioned this "master world chronology." The chronographer, interested in oriental history as well as Greek and Roman (similar to the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus), briefly outlined the events of Lydia, Persia, and Greece in col. II and attempted to syncretize the several chronologies.

Of II.8-9, nothing can be determined. The restoration of *Σ[όλων]* in II.10 appears sound and reflects the fifth- and fourth-century traditions of his establishment of *νόμον[ς]* II.11, rather than *θεσμούς*,¹⁷ Hdt. 1.29:

¹⁴ According to conventional Roman chronology, 390, but in Greek chronology, 387-386, L. Homo *CAH* VII 561, n. 1 (see VII.321-322).

¹⁵ F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford 1957) I 46-48, 185-186, 665-671; H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.* 3rd ed. (London 1960) 416; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1963) 355.

¹⁶ Ephoros wrote his *History* from the period of the Trojan War to Philip II (*FGrH* 70, T1), and referred to Minos (F147, 174), Homer (F113-4, 119, 128), Hesiod (F113), Lykurgos (F174-5), and Pheidon (F115, 176).

¹⁷ M. Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginning of the Athenian Democracy* (Oxford 1969) 5-8, 159-160. A. Martina, *Solon* (Rome 1968), note *IG* XIV.1297 as frag. 55. E. Ruschenbusch *Σόλωνος νόμοι Historia: Einzesch.*, H.9 (Wiesbaden 1966).

Σόλων . . . ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας; Andok. 1.15–16: νόμοις δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς; Aris. *Ath. Pol.* 6.1: καὶ [Σόλων] νόμους ἔθηκε.¹⁸ Diodorus states, 9.1.3: ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Σόλων, ἐν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ μεγάλην δόξαν περιποιησάμενος and 9.20.1: ὅτι Σόλων ὁ νομοθέτης. Solon's archonship is dated 594/593 B.C.¹⁹

Anacharsis the Scythian (Pherekydes *FGrH* 3. F174; Hdt. 4.46, 76–79.1; Plut. *Solon* 5; Lucian *Anacharsis*; Diog. Laert. 1.101–105; *Schol.* Plato *Rep.* 10.600a), an historical figure, was contemporary with Solon.²⁰ In the fourth century B.C., Ephoros (*FGrH* 70, F42, 158, 182) praised Anacharsis and counted him among the sages: (F158) καὶ τὸν σοφὸν δ' Ἀνάχαρσιν ἐκ τῶν Νομαδικῶν.²¹ Diodorus claims both Solon and Anacharsis visited Croesus in Sardis, 9.26.2: παρεγενήθη δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης καὶ Βίας καὶ Σόλων καὶ Πιττακός; and ranks Solon as one of the seven sages, 9.1.2, which include Bias and Pittakos. Diogenes Laertius, however, dated the journey of Anacharsis to Athens in the archonship of Eukrates, 592/591, rather than in Solon's archonship, 594/593. Although the epigraphical date for Solon and Anacharsis on *TC* may well have been *XΘ'*, 609 = 594 B.C. or *XZ'*, 607 = 592 B.C., the coupling in *TC* of Solon's archonship and Anacharsis' journey in the same year (whatever the date) is at variance with the historical sources.²²

The canonical naming of the sages is entered in II.15, separate from the reference to Solon and Anacharsis, and placed after Croesus' kingship in Lydia and before Peisistratos' tyranny. This entry may not have had its origin much before the mid-fourth century, with Ephoros and the historical schools. Of Solon, 9.1.2, Diodorus states: [Σόλων] ὠνομάσθη μὲν εἰς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, which patterns Ephoros' (*FGrH* 70, F42 [Strabo 7.3.9]) statement on Anacharsis: καὶ τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν δὲ σοφὸν καλῶν ὁ Ἐφορος τούτου τοῦ γένους φησὶν εἶναι, νομισθῆναι δὲ καὶ <τῶν> ἑπτὰ σοφῶν (cf. F158 and 182; *Schol.* Ap. Rhod. 1.1276). Demetrius of Phaleron (*apud* Diog. Laert. 1.22) stated the seven sages

¹⁸ G. Kaibel *IG* XIV, 1297: Σ[όλων] archon fuit Athenis et] νόμο[us scripsit et] Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σ[κύθης] in Graeciam s. Athens] παρεγένετο.

¹⁹ Cadoux, *JHS* 68 (1948) 93–99; H. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* (Oxford 1834) I 226–227. M. Miller, "Solon's Timetable," *Arethusa* 1 (1968) 62–81; "The Accepted Date for Solon: Precise, but Wrong?" *Arethusa* 2 (1968) 62–87.

²⁰ H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin 1952) I 32.

²¹ PW *RE*, Schmid, "Anacharsis," I.2017–2018; *OCD*, Brink, "Anacharsis," 46–47.

²² Cadoux, *JHS* 68 (1948) 99; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* 227. Plut. *Solon* 5.3: τὸν Σόλωνα δέξασθαι (Ἀνάχαρσιν) ἤδη . . . συναγαττόμενον τοὺς νόμους (c. 591/590 B.C.).

were named in the archonship of Damasios, 582/581 B.C.: Θάλης — καὶ πρῶτος σοφὸς ὠνομάσθη ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου, καθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν. Plato *Prt.* 343a enumerated Thales, Pittakos, Bias, Solon, Kleoboulos, Myson, and Chilon.²³

Croesus' kingship in Lydia, II.14 (Hdt. 1.26, dated c. 560,²⁴ contemporary with Peisistratos' first attempt at tyranny in Athens) is inscribed after Solon's revision of the Athenian laws but before the tyranny of Peisistratos here ascribed to 579 = 564 B.C., ΦΟΘ' (the first tyranny is dated 561/560 [Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.1-3; *Marm. Par.* 40; Plut. *Solon* 32.3]²⁵ and the third 546, Hdt. 5.65.3 [the Peisistratids] ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἕτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα). Diodorus 9.2.1 states: ὅτι Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς; and places Solon and Anacharsis as contemporaries in Croesus' court (9.2.2, 9.4.2, 9.26.2). Peisistratos' tyranny, II.16 (Hdt. 1.59-64; cf. Diod. Sic. 9.4.1), must refer to the futile attempt in 561/560 rather than the successful third attempt in 546. However, the date given by TC for Peisistratos, namely, 564, is also at variance with the other historical sources.

The statement that "Aesop was thrown over the precipice by the Delphians," II.17-18, refers to Aristophanes *Vespaie* 1446-1447: Αἴσωπον οἱ Δελφοί ποτ' . . . φιάλην ἐπητιῶντο κλέψαι τοῦ θεοῦ, and the *Scholia* 1446: οἱ δὲ προσδραμόντες καὶ τὸ ποτήριον εὐρόντες ἐφόνευσαν and οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ χαλεπήναντες φιάλην ἱερὰν τοῦς Αἰσώπου σκεύεσιν ὑπέβαλον. The story that the Delphians charged Aesop with stealing a phiale of Apollo, accused him with false evidence, and killed him is probably apocryphal.²⁶ Herodotus (2.134) claims that the Delphians, obedient to the oracle, issued numerous proclamations inviting to Delphi whosoever would wish to undertake atonement for the death of Aesop, and that the Samian Iadmon, the grandson of the Iadmon who owned Aesop as a slave, came forth. Herodotus dates Aesop to the reign of Amasis, 570-526 (Manetho Fr. 68, 69a and b [Eusebius]),²⁷ who was succeeded by Cambyses (cf. Hdt. 1.77; Diod. Sic. 10.14.2). Plutarch *de Sera* 12.556-557 claims Croesus sent Aesop to Delphi to distribute four

²³ Cadoux, *JHS* 68 (1948) 102-103; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* 229, 231.

²⁴ F. Heichelheim, "Orientalische Geschichte von Kyros bis Mohammed," *Handbuch der Orientalistik* Div. I vol. II, sec. 4, pt. 2 (Leiden 1966) 32; D. Hogarth, "Lydia and Ionia," *CAH*¹ III.518.

²⁵ Cadoux, *JHS* 68 (1948) 104-109.

²⁶ B. Perry, *Aesopica* I (Urbana 1952), 220-223; A. Wiechers, *Aesop in Delphi* (Meisenheim/Glan 1961).

²⁷ A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford 1961) 451; H. Hall, "The Restoration of Egypt," *CAH*¹ III.303-306.

minae to each of the Delphians, but that Aesop returned the gold to Sardis. Angrily, the Delphians unjustly condemned him to death and executed him, by throwing Aesop from the Hyampeian Rock. Consequently, the Delphians suffered illness until they made atonement for the crime and paid a compensation to Idmon (*sic*). Plutarch (*Solon* 28) also reports that Aesop resided in Sardis, and Diodorus, 9.28: "That Aesop flourished at the same time as the seven sages"; ὅτι Αἰσωπος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους συνήκμαζε τοῖς ἑπτὰ σοφοῖς. The death of Aesop, according to Eusebius and the *Suda*, is dated to 564, and thus three years prior to Peisistratos' futile attempt at tyranny.²⁸ Again, *TC* has coupled two events to one year incorrectly, as its chronographer did with Solon and Anacharsis.

The relative dates for Croesus' kingship in Lydia, for the canonical naming of the sages, and for Peisistratos' tyranny, here dated 564, are highly questionable, and especially the reference to Croesus. Consequently, no accurate date may be conjectured for the inscription's dating of Croesus or of the sages except between c. 594 and 564. In striking comparison is Diodorus' close interweaving of Solon with Anacharsis, the sages, Croesus, and Peisistratos (9.4.1).

The subjection of Croesus by Cyrus, II.19 (Hdt. 1.84; Ktesias [*apud* Photius] *FGrH* 688, F9.4; Ephoros *FGrH* 70, F58) occurred c. 546²⁹ (541 in *Marm. Par.* 42). The date presented by *TC* is missing, but would have been between $\Phi O\Theta'$, 579 (= 564 B.C.) and $\Phi M'$ 540 (= 525 B.C.). By October 539, Cyrus had returned to Babylon and seized the city.³⁰

Cambyses' conquest of Egypt, inscribed in II.20–21, is dated to the year $\Phi M'$, 525 B.C., the traditional date (Hdt. 1.77, 2.1, 3.1–4, 9–16; Ktesias *FGrH* 688, F13.9–10, F13a; Diod. Sic. 10.14.2).³¹ This event is linked with the seizure of Pythagoras, II.21. Iamblichos *Pythagoras* iv (19) reports that Pythagoras, while in Egypt, was seized by the soldiers of Cambyses and taken to Babylon for twelve years: ἕως ὑπὸ τῶν σὺν Καμβύσῃ αἰχμαλωτισθεῖς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀνήχθη (cf. Diog. Laert. 8.3). The date presented by *TC* did not contain a unit number, and thus reads $\Phi M'$. Cambyses began his reign in August–September 530,³² and within five years had invaded Egypt.

²⁸ Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* 239.

²⁹ G. Gray, "The Foundation and Extension of the Persian Empire," *CAH* IV.9; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* 6, 8.

³⁰ R. Parker and W. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (Providence 1956) 14.

³¹ E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *Les Peuples de l'Orient Méditerranéen: L'Égypte* II (Paris 1938), 593; Hall, "Restoration of Egypt," *CAH* III.306.

³² Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* 14.

Xerxes' bridging of the Hellespont and his crossing into Europe from Abydos, II.26–27 (Hdt. 7.33–35; Ktesias *FGrH* 688, F13.27: ἤλανθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ζευγνύς τὴν Ἄβυδον: *Marm. Par.* 51; Diod. Sic. 11.2.4: ζεύξαι μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον and 11.3.6: τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐζεύχθαι . . . ὥς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἄβυδον, διὰ τοῦ ζεύγματος τὴν δύναμιν διήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην), and Themistokles' naval victory, II.27–29 (Hdt. 8.76–97; Ktesias *FGrH* 688, F13.30; Ephoros *FGrH* 70, F191 [*POxy.* XIII 1610, Fl]: εἰ[s] τὰ τότε περὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους – . . . περὶ τε τῆς ν[αυμα]χίας; Diod. Sic. 11.19.3: οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνες τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον προτερήσαντες ἐπιφανεστάτῃ ναυμαχίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, and Diod. Sic. 11.19.4: Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δόξας αἴτιος γενέσθαι τῆς νίκης), are noted with an incomplete date 490+ = 475+ (1–9) B.C., and the unit number is lost: 29. *ETH* Υῶ[.]. Historically, this date is 480, and it is possible that the date inscribed was ΥῶΕ' (495 = 480 B.C.)

The list of Greek philosophers, II.30–32, is an imaginary fabrication, although partially based upon the fourth-century statement of Plato *Parmenides* 127a–c (c. 368–367)³³: ὅτι ἀφίκοντό ποτε εἰς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα Ζήνων τε καὶ Παρμενίδης . . . καταλύειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔφη παρὰ τῷ Πυθοδώρῳ . . . οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀφικέσθαι τὸν τε Σωκράτη καὶ ἄλλους τινας μετ' αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς (cf. *Tht.* 183, *Soph.* 217). Although the historical situation is exaggerated, the event may be dated generally to c. 450–445 and considered partially historical in origin.³⁴ In addition to Plato's statement, the writer of *TC* included Anaxagoras, the reported teacher of Socrates (Diog. Laert. 2.5.19), and Herakleitos, who was probably dead by the mid-century.

Following these problems, the entries for Greek history become historically secure. The beginning of the Peloponnesian War and the reference to *TC*, II.33–34, recalls the opening lines of the historian's writings, I.1.1, published after 399³⁵: Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Diodorus wrote (12.38.1 [Ephoros *FGrH* 70, F196]): ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος ὁ κληθεὶς

³³ Written shortly after *Theaetetus*, dated c. 369; E. Sachs, *De Theaeteto Atheniensi Mathematico* (Berlin 1914) 40: PW *RE* von Fritze, "Theaitetos," V A.1351–2; F. Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge* (London 1935) 1; Henzen, *RhM* IX (1854) 177; "Diese Zusammenfassung berühmter Philosophen ganz verschiedener Zeiten zeugt nicht eben für die Genauigkeit unsres Grammatikers."

³⁴ G. Kirk and J. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge [Eng.] 1963) 263.

³⁵ J. Finley, *Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass. 1942) 16.

Πελοποννησιακός, and (12.37.2): Θουκυδίδης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος.

TC col. II is summarized as follows:

EVENT	HISTORICAL DATE	TC DATE
10. Solon	594/593	} together —
12. Anacharsis	592/591	
14. Croesus	560	—
15. Seven Sages	582/581	—
16. Peisistratos	561/560	} together 564
17. Aesop	564	
19. Cyrus and Croesus	546	—
20. Cambyses	525	} together 525
21. Pythagoras	525	
22-23. Hipparchos	514	} together 513
24. Darius	513 or 519	
26. Xerxes	480	} together 475 +
27-28. Themistokles	480	
32-33. Sokrates, Herakleitos, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, Zeno	?450-445	—
33. Peloponnesian War	431	} together —
34. Thucydides	431	
35. Rome and Gauls	387	386.

Three observations can be made of the Greek and Persian list in TC: 1) The events could not have been compiled before the mid-fourth century, until Thucydides' death and the "publication" of his *History* and the publication of Plato's *Parmenides*. 2) The source for TC col. II appears to have been an Alexandrian chronology, which is reflected in the works of Diogenes Laertius and Eusebius, who preserve similar items. Many of the events in TC also appear in Diodorus Siculus' *History*, and may reflect Ephoros' *History*. 3) The dates for the events are not accurate. Solon and Anacharsis are incorrectly linked together. Croesus' kingship is dated relatively too early. Peisistratos' first tyranny is incorrectly dated. The assassination of Hipparchos should be 514 rather than 513. The collection of mid-fifth-century philosophers is fabulous. And the date for the Gallic occupation of Rome is 387 rather than 386. The author of TC, in his attempt to couple historical events of Greece and the Near East (Scythia, Lydia, Egypt, Persia) failed to be correct chronologically. This problem of double-entries appears six times in col. II, in two of which ἀφ' οὗ is repeated, suggesting perhaps a combination of two entries into one. Although there may be reason for combining the two entries into one year — Solon/Anacharsis and

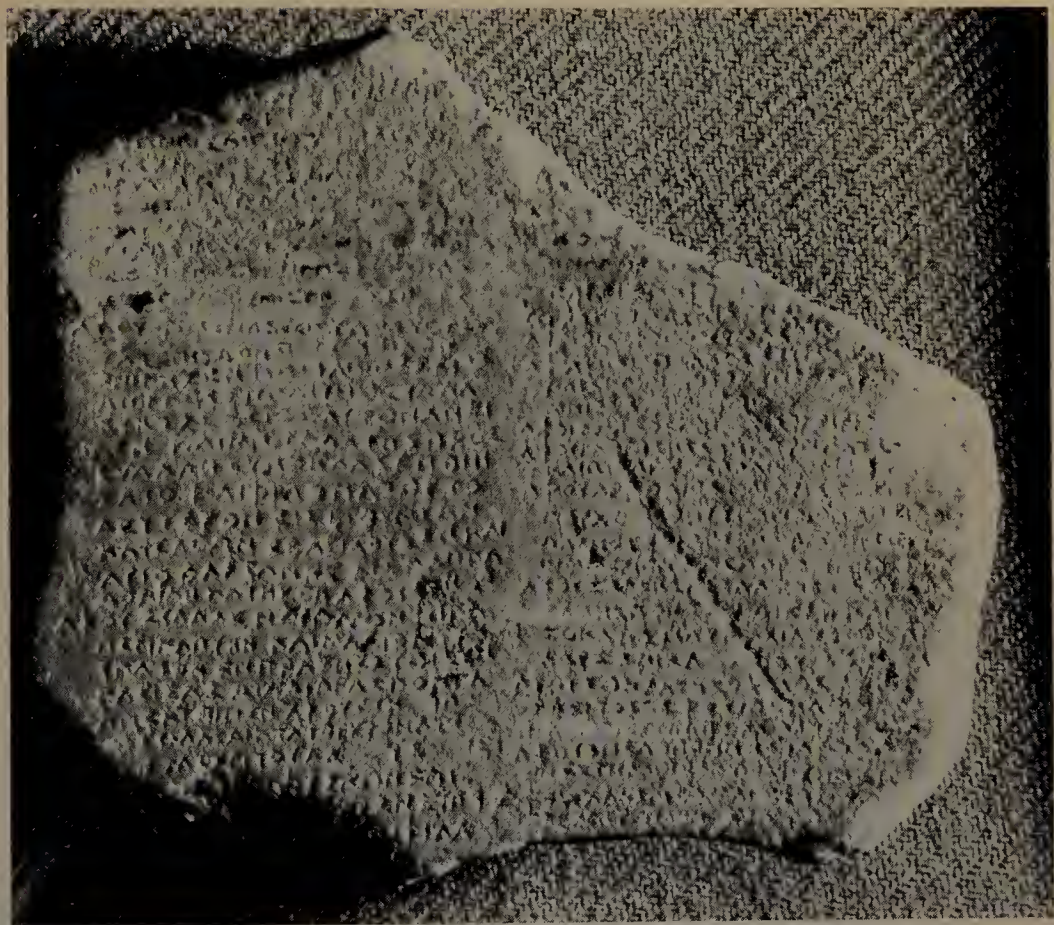


PLATE I. Courtesy of the Museo Capitolino, Rome.



PLATE II. Courtesy of George G. Cameron.



PLATE III. Courtesy of George G. Cameron.

Peisistratos/Aesop — it is possible that in II.9–11 and in II.15–18 the two entries were not synchronous, i.e. ΦΟΘ' belongs to Aesop but not to Peisistratos, and thus in II.22–26 ΦΚΗ' belongs to Harmodios and not to Darius. Consequently, TC col. II presents two different sequences. The same may be true in col. I, where a second ἀφ'οῦ occurs in lines 7, 25, and 30. Consequently, we must question the date of Darius' Scythian expedition and not rely solely upon the date recorded in TC. An internal investigation of the ancient sources, independent of TC, reveals a date for the expedition other than that presented by TC.

Herodotus (4.1) reports that “following the taking of Babylon, Darius himself marched against the Scythians” — Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἴρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις — who ruled “Upper Asia:” τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίας ἥρξαν . . . Σκύθαι.³⁶ For Herodotus, Asia denoted the Persian Empire in contrast to Libya (Africa) and Europe (4.37–44) and, consequently, ἄνω Ἀσίῃ ranged from the western Pontic regions eastward to the Caspian and Aral seas. In the west, Herodotus located the Scythians to the north of the Ister (4.13.2, 17, 48–58, 99–101), about the Crimea and the Sea of Azov (Lake Maiotis, 4.3, 21, 86),³⁷ and eastward (4.22) beyond the Volga (4.11, which Herodotus calls the Araxes).³⁸ For Herodotus, Central Scythia was the Crimean region (4.12)³⁹: “And to this day, there are in Scythia Cimmerian walls, a Cimmerian ferry, a land named Cimmeria, and the Bosporos called Cimmerian:” καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμῖα Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χώρα οὖνομα Κιμμερία, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος.

Against the Pontic Scythians north of Thrace and the Ister, Darius commanded his forces, and, in preparation, Darius ordered them “to bridge the Thracian Bosporus” (4.83–89): τοῖσι δὲ ζευγνύναι τὸν Θρηϊκίον Βόσπορον.⁴⁰ Upon this bridge “Darius crossed over to Europe,” Δαρείος δὲ . . . διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, to invade Scythia (4.46, 89–90).

³⁶ How and Wells, *Herodotus* I, App. XII., 429–434; Hekataios *FGrH* 1, F18b [apud *Schol.* Apoll. Rhod. 4.284], Ister μεταξύ Σκυθῶν καὶ Θραϊκῶν.

³⁷ Ibid, 303–304; E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* I (Cambridge 1913) 9–10; Junge, *Saka-Studien* 5.

³⁸ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* 26–34; M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (London 1922) 35–60.

³⁹ How and Wells, *Herodotus* I 306.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 331–334.

Darius had gained the Persian throne in early January 521, after six months' struggle for control.⁴¹ Cambyses had died of an accidental wound (*Bisitun* I.43; Hdt. 3.64–66) in early July 522, and the rebellious Bardiya or Pseudo-Bardiya (Pseudo-Smerdis, Gaumata), who began his insurrection on March 11 (*Bisitun* I.35–72),⁴² and had gained recognition in Babylon by 14 April of that year, had seized the entire Empire by 1 July, during Cambyses' final days.⁴³ Darius, also claiming the throne, campaigned against Bardiya and killed him on 29 September 522 (Hdt. 3.61–79; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 774–777). A second rebellion quickly arose led by Nebuchadnezzar III (Nidintu-Bel),⁴⁴ against whom Darius continued his struggle and whom Darius defeated in battle at the Tigris, 13 December 522, and again five days later at the Euphrates near Zazannu. Shortly thereafter, Darius captured Nebuchadnezzar and executed him in Babylon (*Bisitun* I.72–II.5).

From early January until 8 September 521, Darius ruled Babylonia, when from Uruk a third contender, Nebuchadnezzar IV (The Armenian Arakha), who arose in power late in August, gained control and was recognized as king in Babylon. In November, Darius dispatched his army against Nebuchadnezzar, defeated him, and captured him on 27 November 521 (*Bisitun* III.76–93). Throughout December 521 and

⁴¹ A. Poebel, "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign," *AJS* 55 (1938) 142–165, 285–314; "The Duration of the Reign of Smerdis, the Magian, and the Reigns of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV," *AJS* 56 (1939) 121–145; in correction to A. Olmstead, "Darius and His Bisitun Inscription," *AJS* 55 (1938) 392–416. W. Hinz, "Das erste Jahr des Grosskönigs Dareios," *ZDMG* 92 (1938) 136–173. Poebel's thesis accepted and confirmed by R. Parker, "Persian and Egyptian Chronology," *AJS* 58 (1941) 285–301; "Darius and His Egyptian Campaign," *ibid.*, 373–377; and G. Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia," *ibid.*, 314–325. Hinz, "Zur Behistun — Inschrift des Dareios," *ZDMG* 96 (1942) 326–349; R. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2nd ed. (New Haven 1953) 159–163. See Parker and Dubberstein *Babylonian Chronology* 14–17. Hekataios *FGrH* 1, T1 [*apud* Suda s.v. 'Εκαταίος] Darius became king ἐν τῇς ξέ' ὀλυμπιάδος (520–516 B.C.). For discussion of Darius' satrapies, see A. Toynbee, *A Study of History* VII (London 1954) 580–689, "The Administrative Geography of the Achaemenian Empire," esp. 585–587, 586 n. 3, 587 nn. 1, 2, 7, 594–595, 599 n. 2; *Sakā Haumavargā* 644–645, 644 n. 5; *Sakā Tigrakhaudā* 645–646, 646 n. 4; "Those on the Sea," 679–683, 679 n. 1: Toynbee's consultation with Kent and Cameron. See also R. T. Hallock, "The 'One Year' of Darius I," *JNES* 19 (1960) 36–39.

⁴² Kent, *Old Persian* 116–135; for the Akkadian and Elamite texts (although out of date) see F. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden* (Leipzig 1911) 9–79.

⁴³ Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia," *AJS* 58 (1941) 314.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 317–325.

January 520, the Persian cities again recognized Darius as king, and to commemorate his successful victories, Darius ordered the monument at Bisitun to be carved and to record the events of his first year as king.⁴⁵

Herodotus reports the second Babylonian revolt of Nidintu-Bel (3.150) but omits the third revolt by Arakha, and claims that Darius spent two years in battle and siege to regain control after the first revolt of Bardiya (3.152-159),⁴⁶ which in contrast to the twelve months recorded in the Persian documents is probably in error.

At Bisitun (pls. II and III), standing below and to the left of his god Ahuramazda, Darius presses his left foot upon the magos Gaumata (Hdt. 3.63), whose insurrection and death are recorded (*Bisitun* I.35-72),⁴⁷ and raises his right hand to Ahuramazda. The *Marmor Parium* (44) reports: "Darius became King of the Persians, after the death of the magos," Δαρειὸς Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε μάγου τελευτήσαντος, 519/518 B.C. (*MP* preserves the conspiracy of the seven, noted by *Bisitun* I.48-72; Herodotus; Ktesias; and Polyaeos).⁴⁸ At this time (spring 520), Darius considered eastern Scythia to be one of his provinces:

Saith Darius the King: These are the countries which came unto me; by the favor of Ahuramazda I was King of them: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, (those) who are beside the sea, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia (*Saka* [by geographical order, eastern]), Sattagydia, Arachosia, Maka: in all XXIII provinces.

Herodotus specifically stated that north of the Caucasus was not under Persian control (3.97.4): τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρῆν ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι προντίζει.

The Old Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite texts of the Bisitun monument, inscribed in Darius' second and third years, 520-519 *Bisitun* V.2-5), record the first year's events (summer 522-early winter 521) in

⁴⁵ Cameron, "Darius Carved History on Ageless Rock," *National Geographic Magazine* 98.6 (December 1950) 825-844.

⁴⁶ How and Wells, *Herodotus* I 300-301: "H. puts together without any real chronology, independent narratives, of which he knows only that they all belong to the early years of Darius."

⁴⁷ Cameron, "A Photograph of Darius' Sculptures at Behistan," *JNES* 2 (1943) 115-116, pl. II.

⁴⁸ *Bisitun* IV.80-86: Intaphernes, Otanes, Bobryas, Hydarnes, Megabyzos, Ardumanish (Hdt. 3.70 gives Aspathines for Ardumanish [cf. *DNd*: Kent, *Old Persian* 140]), Kent, *Old Persian* 160.

detail (*Bisitun* IV.2-3).⁴⁹ The Persian inscription in four columns below the relief presents the following:

- I.1-12: Darius' salutation, and claim to the throne, with the grace of Ahuramazda.
- I.12-17: Construction of the Empire (*see above*).
- I.17-26: Statements regarding Empire, tribute, and the enforcement of law.
- I.26-35: Cambyzes' killing of his brother Smerdis.
- I.35-48: The insurrection of the Magos Gaumata, Pseudo-Smerdis.
- I.48-72: The killing of Gaumata (29 September, 522) with the aid "of a few men," and the establishment of Darius' kingship.
- I.72-83: Rebellions in Elam and Babylonia; "And one man, a Babylonian, by name Nidintu-Bel, son of Ainaira — he rose up in Babylon; thus he deceived the people: 'I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidus,'⁵⁰ afterwards the Babylonians all went over to that Nidintu-Bel; Babylonia became rebellious; he seized the kingdom of Babylon."
- I.83-96: Battles of Tigris and Zazannu.
- II.1-5: The killing of Nidintu-Bel at Babylon (December 522), revolts quelled.
- II.5-8: "While I was in Babylon, these are the provinces which became rebellious for me: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana (Bactria), Sattagydia, [eastern] Scythia (*Saka*)."
- II.8-98: Reconrol of Elam, Media, Armenia, and Sagartia.
- III.1-76: Reconrol of Parthia, Margiana, Persia, and Arachosia (no mention of Egypt, Sattagydia, or Scythia).
- III.76-83: "While I was in Persia and Media, again a second time the Babylonians became rebellious from me. One man by name Arakha, an Armenian, son of Haldita — he rose up in Babylon (September 521). A district by name Dubala — from there he thus lied to the people:⁵¹ 'I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of

⁴⁹ Kent, *Old Persian* 116-135.

⁵⁰ Thus the rebel claimed to be a son of the last Chaldean king, who had made a desperate bid to re-establish his dwindling power by an alliance with Croesus and Amasis (Hdt. 1.77; Xen. *Cyr.* 2.1.5, 6.2.10), and had been overthrown by Cyrus in 539 (Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* 13-14).

⁵¹ The conflict between the "Lie" and "Justice" was a common motif in Cyrus' official propaganda when he gained the throne (Cameron, "Ancient Persia," in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, ed. R. Denten [New Haven 1955] 81-86). Darius utilized the "lie motif" often: *Bisitun* I.33-34,

Nabonidus.' Thereupon the Babylonian people became rebellious from me, (and) went over to that Arakha. He seized Babylon; he became King in Babylon."

III.83-93: Control of Babylon, Arakha impaled (27 November, 521).

IV.1-2: "This is what was done by me in Babylon."

IV.2-3: "*This is what I did by the favor of Ahuramazda in one and the same year after that I became King:*"

IV.2-31: List of conquests, including two rebellions in Babylon.

IV.31-92: Praise of Ahuramazda.

As an appendix to Cols. I-IV, in his third year Darius ordered that the events of the second and third year also be inscribed, and that an additional captive figure be added to the relief, that of Skunkha the Scythian wearing a pointed hat (*Darius, Bisitun k: 1. iyam: sku 2. xa: hya: Saka* [This (is) Skunkha the Scythian]).⁵²

V.1: "Saith Darius the King:

V.2-5: *This is what I did in both the second and third year after that I became King* (520-519). A province by name Elam — this became rebellious."

V.5-14: Report of Persian army under Gobryas against Elam, and the subjection of Elam.

V.14-7: Invocation to Ahuramazda.

V.18-20: "Saith Darius the King: Whoso shall worship Ahuramazda, divine blessing will be upon him both (while) living and (when) dead."

V.20-30: "Saith Darius the King: Afterwards with an army I set off to Scythia (*Sakām* [spring 519]), after the Scythians who

IV.8-31, 36-40, "Saith Darius the King: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, protect thyself vigorously from the *Lie*; the man who shall be a *Lie-Follower*, him do thou punish well, if thus thou shalt think, 'May my country be secure!'; IV.40-43; *DPd* (Kent, *Old Persian* 135-136); *DNb* (138-140). The "Lie motif" does not occur in *Bisitun* V.20-36 or *DBk* (135).

⁵² Kent, *Old Persian* 135 (*DBk*). *OP* V was inscribed to the right of *OP* IV, Skunkha carved to the right of the relief over the left side of col. I of the Elamite text, which was re-carved to the monument's lower left, and thus destroyed the symmetry. Below the relief (see n. 60) Persian I-V, to left Akkadian I, to right Elamite (1) I-IV (with Skunkha superimposed). Lower left Elamite (2) I-III. L. King and R. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia* (London 1907) p. vi (entire monument), p. xiii (relief), pp. xxii-xxvi. The monument was still being carved and inscribed after the third year (519); Hinz, "Die Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* NF I (1968), 95-98.

wear the pointed cap. These Scythians went from me. When I arrived at the sea, beyond it there with all my army I crossed.⁵³ Afterwards I smote the Scythians exceedingly; another (leader) I took captive; this one was led bound to me, and I slew him." The chief of them, by name Skunkha (*S[ku]xa*), him they seized and led to me. There I made another their chief, as was my desire. After that, the province became mine."

V.31-5: "Saith Darius the King: Those Scythians were faithless and by them Ahuramazda was not worshipped. I worshipped Ahuramazda; by the favor of Ahuramazda, as was my desire, thus I did unto them."

The order of Darius' activities preserved at Bisitun — 1) accession and control, 2) construction of Bisitun, 3) the Scythian expedition — is essentially reported by the Greek historians in a similar arrangement. Herodotus registers 1) accession and control, 2) the Scythian expedition, 3) Darius' return to Asia Minor, 4) Otanes' siege of Kalchedon, and 5) the campaign in Libya. Ktesias' outline basically corresponds to Bisitun and Herodotus: 1) accession and control, 2) the construction of Darius' tomb rather than Bisitun, 3) the Scythian expedition, and 4) Darius' return to Asia Minor and the attack upon Kalchedon. This pattern is also retained by Polyaeus: 1) the Scythian campaign, 2) accession and control, 3) taxation of peoples, 4) Scythian activities, 5) Darius' siege of Kalchedon, and 6) Darius' Egyptian campaign. The date of Darius' accession and control is established at 522-521 B.C., the construction of Bisitun 520-518 B.C., the Scythian campaign, 520-519 B.C., and the Egyptian campaign from autumn 519 to spring 518 B.C.⁵⁴ Consequently, it appears that the four ancient sources *Bisitun*, Herodotus, Ktesias, and Polyaeus) do preserve in parallel reports the events of Darius' reign from 522 to 518 B.C.

Ktesias' account of Darius' early reign states that when Cambyzes died in Babylon (*FGrH* 688, F13.15-8), the magos Sphendates (the Gaumata of Bisitun) became king as the result of a plot well developed

⁵³ E. Herzfeld, who died in 1948, interpreted (*The Persian Empire* [Weisbaden 1968] 290-291) OP V.19-36, to mean that Darius crossed the sea (the Thracian Bosporos) on boards or planks rather than ships, and thus referred to the famous wooden pontoon bridge built by Mandrokles of Samos (Hdt. 4.87-89; Choirilos fr. 3; Polybius 4.43). In 1948, Cameron reinvestigated Bisitun and returned with new readings. G. G. Cameron: "Herzfeld's board boats cannot stand for just where he read King-Thompson's *pa* sign (beginning his word), I saw clearly *va*."

⁵⁴ R. Parker, "Darius and his Egyptian Campaign," *AJSL* 58 (1941) 377.

before Cambyses' death. Ktesias, following Herodotus (3.70-79, 150) or a similar source, claimed that Darius and six Persian nobles conspired against Sphendates, invaded the Babylonian Palace, and slew the magos in the seventh month of his reign (April-September 522; cf. Hdt. 3.67-68, who states "in the eighth month," and thus seven), and thereupon Darius became king. Darius himself noted the aid of the six in the conspiracy (*Bisitun* IV.80-86).

This account of Artaxerxes II's Greek physician, from the early fourth century,⁵⁵ romanticized and abbreviated, basically parallels the accounts of Bisitun and Herodotus that a conspiracy of seven overthrew the magos (Hdt. 3.70; Plato *Epist.* 7.332a, *Leg.* 695b-d; Justin 1.9.4-10) and that Darius then became king, after an equine contest (Hdt. 3.83-88 [omitted by *Bisitun*]). Following this, Ktesias recounts the unique story (F13.19): "Darius commanded that a tomb for himself be constructed in the twin mountains,⁵⁶ and it was built," Δαρείος προστάσσει τάφον ἑαυτῷ κατασκευασθῆναι ἐν τῷ δισσοῦ ὄρει καὶ

⁵⁵ PW *RE* Jacoby, "Ktesias," XI.2032-2078.

⁵⁶ G. G. Cameron: "Bisitun itself is an enormous mountain as one can see from the air photo." — E. Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran* (Chicago 1940) pl. 101. See also Cameron, *National Geographic Magazine*, December 1950, 826-827; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* pl. 24. "The monument itself is in the fissure which runs almost straight up just to the right of the center, on the left side of the fissure, above a white line (a road) running straight along the mountain's base. I can't see any 'twin' here at all. But neither can I see one at Naqš-i-Rustam. A. V. Williams Jackson (*Persia Past and Present* [London 1906] 297) claimed he could: 'The rocky cliff . . . [at Naqš-i-Rustam into which the tombs are cut] resembles a jagged wall, over five hundred feet long and between one and two hundred feet high. It extends in a generally easterly and westerly direction, but makes a rather sharp turn at the eastern end, so that we can understand how Ctesias came to speak of it as a 'double mountain — δισσὸν ὄρος.' The picture opposite p. 298 [in Jackson] does show this rather sharp jutting out at the easterly end. Actually, that jut is big enough so that one of the four tombs is in it. See also Schmidt pl. 12. But for us who spent all day, day after day, digging in the area just in front of the tombs there were no 'twins.'"

Bisitun from Schmidt's photograph, pl. 101, however, may easily be interpreted as being "twin" mountains. H. Luschey, "Studien zu dem Darius-Relief in Bisutun," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* NF I (1968) pl. 25.1, illustrates the "twin" nature of Bisitun. Naqš-i-Rustam is no more than a small outcropping and plateau (Schmidt pl. 12).

Jacoby *FGrH* III C 461 would emend the text to λισσοῦ (cf. Diod. Sic. 17.71.7, description of Naqš-i-Rustam: πέτρα γὰρ ἦν κατεξαμμένη, "this was a smooth rock") after W. Roseher, "Das Alter der Weltkarte in 'Hippokrates' περὶ ἔβδομάδων und die Reich karte des Darius Hystapis," *Philologus* 70 (1911) 537-538; although both mss. A M read δισσοῦ. Λισσὸν (smooth [faced]) could apply to either Bisitun or Naqš-i-Rustam but I am not convinced as to the Roscher emendation.

κατασκευάζεται. Ktesias' tomb is that of Darius at Naqš-i-Rustam, constructed later in his reign, after the form of Egyptian rock-cut tombs, and contemporary in style with Darius' palace at Persepolis.⁵⁷ Although Ktesias reports the construction of Naqš-i-Rustam rather than Bisitun he may well have transferred the monuments in his attempt to discuss the construction of a monument in Darius' second year. Certainly, the twin mountains belong to Bisitun and not Naqš-i-Rustam.

Ktesias continues his report of the tomb:

And (Darius) felt a desire to see it but was prevented by the Chaldeans and his parents. His parents, however, wanted to climb up. But when the priests who were pulling them up saw them, they panicked and in their panic let go of the ropes; the parents fell to their deaths. And Darius was overwhelmed with sorrow. The heads of the forty men who were pulling them up were cut off.

Ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τε τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ τῶν γονέων κωλύεται. Οἱ δὲ γονεῖς ἀνελθεῖν βουλευθέντες, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εἶδον οἱ ἀνέλκοντες αὐτούς, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ φοβηθέντες ἀφῆκαν τὰ σχοινία, ἔπεσον καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν. καὶ ἐλυπήθη Δαρεῖος λίαν, καὶ ἀπετμήθησαν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μ' ὄντων τῶν ἀνελκόντων.

Fundamentally, Ktesias may be preserving the destruction of the stairway to the Bisitun monument which, after the carving of Skunkha's figure and the inscription of the Scythian campaign (OP V) and the second Elamite columns had been completed, was destroyed in 518 to

⁵⁷ Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* 218, 228; Herzfeld, *Persian Empire* 295. G. G. Cameron.: "Although we do not know just how soon after he became king that Darius began to build Persepolis, we have always thought that it was pretty soon after the completion of Bisitun. The *Darius Persepolis e* (DPe of Kent, p. 136), along with *d*, *f*, and *g*, is carved on the southern face of the terrace wall, and surely was one of the earliest to be cut. It is the one which mentions the *eastern* Saka, and says, after naming two Ionians, "the lands beyond the sea." Only *then* does it go on to name the eastern satrapies. DPe and *d* are different texts, both in OP; DPf is only in Elamite; and DPg in Akkadian only. It says:

Persia, Media, and the other lands (of) other tongues, (of) mountains and plains of this, the nearer shore of the "bitter river" [Persian Gulf], and on that, the farther shore of the "bitter river" (as well as those) on this, the nearer side of the desert [lit.: "region of thirst"] and of that, the farther side of the desert.

I once thought "bitter river" to mean the "sea," (and it does mean salt water), and thought then that this text too spoke of the "lands beyond the sea." At any rate, a treasury was paying men rations at Persepolis (and storing the orders in fortification walls there) by Darius' 13th year, 509-508."

prevent anyone from reaching the monument.⁵⁸ Only a few stone steps, part of the old path, and post holes for wooden rails remain on the cliff.

Diodorus (2.13.1-2) confirms Ktesias' confusion (*FGrH* 688, F1.13, 1h, 1i) concerning Bisitun, a report of which Photius omitted in his *Epitome* of Ktesias. Diodorus, claiming Ktesias as his source (2.7.1), describes the construction of Bagistanos (Bisitun) by the legendary Assyrian Queen Semiramis with her portrait, one hundred spearbearers at her side, and a "Syrian" inscription:

καταντήσασα δὲ [ἡ Σεμίραμις] πρὸς ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Βαγίστανον πλησίον αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ κατεσκεύασε παράδεισον, ὃς τὴν μὲν περίμετρον ἦν δώδεκα σταδίων, ἐν πεδίῳ δὲ κείμενος εἶχε πηγὴν μεγάλην, ἐξ ἧς ἀρδεύεσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ φυτουργεῖον. τὸ δὲ Βαγίστανον ὄρος ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Διός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν παράδεισον μέρους ἀποτομάδας ἔχει πέτρας, εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεινούσας ἑπτακαίδεκα σταδίους. οὗ τὸ κατώτατον μέρος καταξύσασα τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνεχάραξεν εἰκόνα, δορυφόρους αὐτῇ παραστήσασα ἑκατόν. ἐπέγραψε δὲ καὶ Συρίοις γράμμασιν εἰς τὴν πέτραν, ὅτι Σεμίραμις τοῖς σάγμασι τοῖς τῶν ἀκολουθούντων ὑποζυγίων ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου χώσασα τὸν προειρημένον κρημνὸν διὰ τούτων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόρειαν προσάνεβη.

And Semiramis arriving at the mountain called Bagistanos, encamped near it and laid out a park, which had a circumference of twelve stadia and being on a plain had a great spring from which the plantings could be irrigated. The Bagistanos mountain is sacred to Zeus, and on the side facing the park it has sheer rocks which rise to the height of seventeen stadia. On the lowest side, smoothing it off, she carved her own portrait with one hundred spearbearers standing with her. And she inscribed with Syrian letters on the rock: "Semiramis, with the pack saddles of the military beasts-of-burden, built a mound from this plain, and climbed this cliff to its highest ridge."

Although perhaps some evidence of Darius' "paradise-park,"⁵⁹ the

⁵⁸ Cameron, *National Geographic Magazine* 98.6 (December 1950), 825-844. G. G. Cameron: "Two stone steps remain, around the corner and only a dozen feet above the ground below. But a part of the old path does remain high up. In the rock in and around the relief and inscriptions are a few old post holes." See Lushey, "Studien zu dem Darius-Relief in Bisitun," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* NF I (1968) 92-94.

⁵⁹ G. G. Cameron: "Just outside of Kermanshah, on the road every one used in 1948 (down to about 1960), it was 33 kms. (ca. 19 miles) from Bisitun to one of the two walls of the "pleasure park" built, I always thought, in Sasanid times, for the clear remains of the mud brick wall (at least ten feet high) was just in front of the Taq-i-Bustan grottoes, into which are carved a number of

carved monument, and the cuneiform ("Syrian" for Assyrian) inscription survive in this legend, Darius himself became Semiramis, and his two guards, the ten captives, and Ahuramazda became one hundred spearbearers. With the staircase to Bisitun destroyed after the completion of the monument in 518, Ktesias could not have examined the relief closely to correct the apocryphal stories.⁶⁰

Ktesias' account of Darius' accession, and command for a monument, is followed by the report of the Scythian invasion. Consequently, the three events, based upon the evidence of Bisitun and the Persian documents, occurred in 522-521 (the magos), 520 (the "tomb"), and 520-519 (the expedition), respectively. Ktesias (F13.20), again following sources independent of Herodotus, states: "Then Darius commanded Ariaramnes, the Satrap of Cappadocia, to cross over to Scythia, and to take captive the men and women. Crossing over with fifty ships, he captured the brother of the King of the Scythians, Marsagetes, whom they found ill-treated and bound by his brother. And Skytharbes, the King of the Scythians was very angry, and wrote an insulting letter to Darius; he received a reply in kind. Thus (F13.20-21), Darius assembling an army of eight hundred thousand men, bridged the Bosporos and the Ister, invaded Scythia, and traveled the road for fifteen days,"

ὅτι ἐπιτάσσει Δαρείος Ἀριαράμνη τῷ σατράπῃ Καππαδοκίας ἐπὶ Σκύθας διαβῆναι, καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας αἰχμαλωτίσαι· ὁ δὲ διαβάς πεντηκον-

Sasanid reliefs. I found no such evidence for a "park" in front of Bisitun, although the spring surely calls for one." Lushey, in "Bisitun," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 5 (1967) 136, reports "the partial excavation of a sizeable fortification of Achaemenian or pre-Achaemenian date. Embracing several terraces, this construction lies to the north of the main cliff face."

⁶⁰ Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* 118. Behind Darius (5' 8") are (left) Gobyras, bearer of the royal spear (also at Naqš-i-Rustam), and (right) Intaphernes (?), bearer of the royal bow and quiver (both 4' 10"), two of the "seven conspirators" (*Bisitun* IV.80-86; *DNc* and *DNd* [Kent, *Old Persian* 140]; Hdt. 3.70 [for Gobyras see *Bisitun* IV.1-14; Hdt. 3.78]); Lushey, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* NF I (1968); 68-71. Before Darius are Gaumata (on his back with his arms raised in supplication), Açina, Nidintu-Bel, Phraortes, Martiya, Çiçantakhma, Vahyazdata, Arakha, and Frada (*Bisitun* IV.8-31; *DBb-DBj* [Kent, *Old Persian* 135]), the impostors of the first year (all 3' 10"), Skunkha (5' 11" [*Bisitun* V.20-30; *DBk*]), the captive of the third year and Ahuramazda (3' 9"); Junge *Saka-Studien* 7. G. G. Cameron: "An interesting sidelight on the Semiramis legend about the rock: Persian Moslems of a later day said the relief depicted a schoolroom with the teacher (Darius: unknown of course to them as such) holding a whip and beating his pupils. Persian Christians said the relief showed Christ and the twelve disciples. From below one *can't* see much."

τόροις λ' ἡχμαλώτισε. Συνέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σκυθῶν Μαρσαγέτην, ἐπὶ κακῶσει εὐρῶν παρὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀδελφοῦ δεδεμένον. Σκυθάρβης δὲ, ὁ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς, ὀργισθεὶς, ἔγραψεν ὑβρίζων Δαρεῖον, καὶ ἀντεγράφη αὐτῷ ὁμοίως. Στράτευμα δὲ ἀγείρας Δαρεῖος π' μυριάδες, καὶ ζεύξας τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὁδὸν ἐλάσας ἡμερῶν ἰε'.

Ktesias again preserves several historical kernels, in that the expedition was organized in Asia Minor (Hdt. 4.83), crossed the (Thracian, by reason of geographical order) Bosphoros and the Ister by land (4.87) and by sea (Herodotus claims 600 ships), and penetrating Scythia, took captive the Scythian prince, Marsagetes, the Skunkha of Bisitun (note above, Ktesias' exchange of Sphendates for Gaumata).⁶¹ Ktesias concludes Darius' return campaign with a Persian attack upon Kalchedon (cf. 4.143-144), which is followed by Datis' Aegean expedition in 490 (F13.22).

Polybius (fl. early 3rd century B.C., 4.43.2) parallels Ktesias in stating: "It is here (at Byzantion) that Darius bridged the strait when he crossed to attack the Scythians," ἥ καὶ Δαρεῖον ζευξαί φασι τὸν πόρον, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας διάβασιν.

Diodorus' reference to the invasion in fragmentary 10.19.5, briefly states: "When Darius became lord of almost all of Asia, he desired to subdue Europe," ὅτι Δαρεῖος τῆς Ἀσίας σχεδὸν ὅλης κυριεύσας τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπεθύμει καταστρέψασθαι. Diodorus, as preserved, offers little more. The statement, however, accords with the Persian documents and the Bisitun inscription (as well as with Herodotus and Ktesias), that

⁶¹ Herodotus mentions stelai inscribed in cuneiform and Greek at the Thracian Bosphoros (4.87) and another in Thrace, in Greek with the text he records (4.91). Ktesias claims Darius and Skytharbes exchanged letters. It may be presumptuous to assume that Ktesias has misunderstood his Persian source, which may perhaps have referred to these nonextant stelai. Herodotus 4.87 claims that Kalchedonian stelai were taken to Byzantion and built into the altar of Orthosian Aretemis, except one stele inscribed in cuneiform which stood beside the temple of Dionysos.

The Turkish archaeological excavations near Ergili, identified as the satrapal seat of Daskyleion, have revealed over three hundred complete and fragmentary bullae which once, perhaps, encircled parchment or papyrus documents and may have been tied to clay tables bearing cuneiform inscriptions. Thirty bullae bear seal impressions with Old Persian and Akkadian inscriptions, "I (am) Xerxes, King;" other bullae bear Aramaic inscriptions, and one the Greek inscription]MAΣ, K. Balkan, "Inscribed Bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili," *Anatolia* 4 (1959) 123-128. Similar imperial correspondence from Darius may have existed. Cf. J. Hzmatta, "An Old Persian Inscription from the Dobrudja," *Acta Antiqua Hungarica*.

Darius began the Scythian expedition following his control of the Empire completed in the spring of 520.⁶²

Strabo's (fl. 44 B.C.–c. A.D. 21) later account of the invasion (7.3.9) fortunately is based on the fourth book of Ephoros' *History* (FGrH 70, F42), which cites Choirilos, the late fifth-century Samian epic poet. Of Ephoros, Strabo states: "And he also refers to Choirilos, who says in *The Crossing of the Pontoon-Bridge*, which Darius bridged: The sheep-herding Sakai, Scythians by race, now they used to dwell in wheat-bearing Asia, were colonists of the nomads, the law-abiding peoples (cf. Hdt. 4.19),"⁶³ καλεῖ δὲ καὶ Χοιρίλον, εἰπόντα, ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τῆς

σχεδίας, ἣν ἔζευξε Δαρεῖος.

μηλονόμοι τε Σάκαι, γενεᾷ Σκύθαι· αὐτὰρ ἔναιον
Ἀσίδα πυροφόρον· Νομάδων γὰρ μὲν ἦσαν ἄποικοι,
ἀνθρώπων νομίμων.

Strabo elaborated his comments regarding the Scythians with further reference to Ephoros and his discussion of the Scythian Anacharsis as a sage. Strabo thus confirms Ephoros' discussion of Darius' Scythian campaign in more detail than is preserved in Diodorus.

Polyaenos' biography of Darius (7.11, c. A.D. 162), often highly questionable, preserves in this matter valuable material.⁶⁴ In chapters 1–6, which precede Darius' Egyptian campaign (chap. 7), Polyaios (chap. 1) briefly refers to the Scythian campaign: "Darius drew up in battle against the Scythians," Δαρεῖος παρεστάσето Σκύθαις.⁶⁵ Chapter 2 elaborates on the slaying of Gaumata and the magi by the seven conspirators (after Hdt. 3.67–70, Ktesias F13.16),⁶⁶ and (in chap. 3), "Darius was the first to assess taxes on the peoples; however, *he was not severe* (which modifies Hdt. 3.89, that Darius the "Huckster" made petty profit out of everything: Δαρεῖος . . . [ὁ] καπήλος . . . ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα). In chapter 4 Polyaios states: "Darius in his

⁶² C. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus* IV (Loeb edition) 85, dated the Scythian expedition to 519. The Tyrrhenian evacuation of Lemnos (10.19.6), which Oldfather dated c. 520, is later, cf. Wade-Gery, "Miltiades," *JHS* 71 (1951) 217. Wade-Gery's chronology, however, is now disrupted by the above evidence.

⁶³ G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1877) 268, fr. 3; PW *RE* Bethe, "Choirilos," III 2359–2361.

⁶⁴ PW *RE* Lammert, "Polyaios," XXI.2.1432–1436; *OCD* Tarn, "Polyaios (2)," 710.

⁶⁵ Polyaios repeats Herodotus' quaint story about the Scythians chasing a rabbit and Darius' decision to return to Asia, 4.134.

⁶⁶ *Bisitun* I.57; Herodotus and Polyaios preserve the conspiracy against the Palace magi; Ktesias and *Marm. Par.* refer only to the magos Gaumata.

march against the Scythians was unable to capture them and also ran short of provisions. The subject of this thought was how to escape," Δαρειὸς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλάσας οὔτε Σκύθας ἐλεῖν οἷός τε ἦν οὔτε σιτίων ἡυπόρει. περὶ δρασμοῦ σκέψις ἦν (cf. Choirilos fr. 3). Polyaeos describes Darius' retreat with a slight elaboration of Herodotus' story (4.129, 135) of leaving braying asses in his camp to delude the Scythians (cf. Frontinus 1.5.25), and chapter 5 relates Darius' siege of Kalchedon (Ktesias F21).

In chapter 6, Polyaeos mentions a Persian campaign against three regions of Σάκαι, the Persian *Saka* for Σκύθαι. This follows Herodotus' (4.136) three-stage Persian campaign in Scythia. The use of Σάκαι for Σκύθαι is also noted in Herodotus 3.9 and Ktesias F9.3 for the eastern Scythian tribes in northern Bactria, where Herodotus noted an eastern group of Σκύθαι (4.11, 19) bordering the territory of the Massegetae, and by Choirilos, who also interchanged Σκύθαι for Σάκαι.⁶⁷ Ephoros claimed (FGrH 70, F158 [apud Anon. Per. P. Eux. 49]) that the Scythians living in Asia were called Saka, καὶ κατοικῆσαι τινες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθόντας, οὓς δὴ καὶ Σάκας καλοῦσιν; in contrast to the western Skythai, F42, 114, 158. In the second century A.D., Strabo noted that among the Maiotai of the Crimean region were the Aspurgiani, the Persian *Saka Haumavargā* (11.2.11, 12.3.29), which have usually been placed north of Bactria.

Darius' imperial list (Bisitun I.12-17) confirms the Greek placement of the eastern Sakai, conquered by Cyrus (Hdt. 3.93; Ktesias F9.3), and Darius' official scribes continued to refer to the eastern *Saka*. After the western Scythian expedition, which essentially failed to control western Scythia or even Thrace, and the completion of the Bisitun monument, several references to the western *Saka* also occur in the Persian records. *Darius, Persepolis e* II.5-18: "By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries which I got into my possession along with this Persian folk, which felt fear of me (and) bore me tribute: Elam, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionians who are of the mainland and (those) who are by the sea, and countries which are across the sea [western Scythians], Sagartia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasnia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Sind, Gandara, *Saka* [eastern], Maka."⁶⁸

Darius, Naqš-i-Rustam a 15-30: "By the favor of Ahuramazda, these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them;

⁶⁷ For eastern Skythai see Hekataios FGrH 1, F295, (?) 215.

⁶⁸ Kēnt, *Old Persian* 136.

they bore tribute to me; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law — that held them firm: Media, Elam, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandaria, Sind, Amyrgian *Saka* [eastern], *Saka* with pointed caps, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionia, *Saka who are across the sea* [western], Skudra (Thracians), petasos-wearing Ionians, Libyans, Ethiopians, men of Maka, Carians.”⁶⁹ *Darius, Persepolis h*, II.3–10, described his empire: “from the *Saka* who are beyond Sogdiana [eastern], thence into Ethiopia; from Sind, thence into Sardis —.”⁷⁰

The name *Saka*, in Darius’ records refers to three locations: 1) *Amyrgian Saka* located after eastern Gandaria and Sind; 2) the *western Saka across the sea near Ionia*; and 3) the *Saka with pointed caps*. The eastern Amyrgian *Saka* are noted by Herodotus and Hellanikos in the fifth century. Herodotus records that in Xerxes’ 480 expedition to Athens (7.64): “The Sakai, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps erect and stiff and tapering to a point. They wore breeches and carried their native bows, daggers, and axes which are called ‘sagaris.’ These were Amyrgian Scythians, but were called Sakai, for the Persians call all Scythians Sakai.” Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὃξὺ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγνίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ ἔοντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Hellanikos, in his late fifth-century *Scythica* (FGrH 4.F65 [apud Stephan of Byzantium s.v.]) referred to “Amyrgion, a plain of the Sakai,” Ἀμύργιον· πεδῖον Σακῶν· Ἑλλάνικος Σκυθικοῖς. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀμύργιος, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν.⁷¹ These eastern Sakai and the Kaspioi belonged to the fifteenth Persian province (Hdt. 3.93).

In contrast, Hellanikos claimed in his *Concerning the Peoples* (FGrH 4, F69 [apud Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.321]) that the (western) Scythians dwelt above Lake Maiotis and the Cimmerian Bosporos. The Scholiast, in clarifying Hellanikos’ statement, placed the Sindoi tribes about the Ister plains and, thus, west of the Scythians: [οὐθ’ οἱ περὶ Λαύριον ἥδη Σινδοὶ ἐρημαῖον πεδῖον μέγα ναιετάοντες] Λαύριον πεδῖον τῆς Σκυθίας . . . κατὰ δὲ τὸ τῶν Σίνδων πεδῖον σχίζεται ὁ ποταμὸς Ἰστρος, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ῥεῦμα εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐξενον πόντον εἰσβάλλει . . .

⁶⁹ Ibid., 137–138; Cf. *Susa m* II.2–11, 145.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 137.

⁷¹ PW RE Jacoby, “Hellanikos,” VIII.104–153; Junge, *Saka-Studien* 29–30.

Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἑθνῶν φησι Βόσπορον διαπλεύσαντι Σίνδοι, ἄνω δὲ τούτων Μαιῶται Σκύθαι. Herodotus (4.28) confirms the Scholiast's remarks by emphasizing that the Scythians dwelt about the Cimmerian Bosphorus (cf. 4.3, 12, 21, 86), and that the Scythians on the western side of the straits drove their wagons westward to the land of the Sindoi (cf. Scylax 72: μετὰ δὲ Μαιώτας Σίνδοι ἔθνος διήκουσι γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἕξω τῆς λίμνης).

The western *Saka* across the sea near Ionia are, therefore, those in Herodotus 4, north of the Ister and about the Crimea. Who then are the *Saka* with the pointed caps? Skunkha (Ktesias' Marsagetes) at Bisitun wears this pointed cap (*Bisitun k*) as does the *Saka* at Naqš-i-Rustam, XV: "This is the *Saka* with pointed cap."⁷² Skunkha, however, is not the rebellious leader of the eastern *Saka*. His legend reads "This is S." rather than "This is S. he lied (the rebel or impostor)."⁷³ He was neither an impostor nor a rebel of the *Saka* which revolted (*Bisitun* II.5-8), although their suppression is not recorded. Nor does Skunkha wear the eastern Sogdian fur-lined coat of the eastern *Saka*, who in the tribute-procession reliefs of Artaxerxes I and III wear this coat along with their Bactrian trousers.⁷⁴ *Bisitun* OP V.23 reads: i[mai]: Sakā: hacāma: ā]iša, "These *Saka* went away from me," the verb *aiša* — "come, go" — which was not rebellion. With respect to the Elamite rebellions, *Bisitun* V.45 reads: Ūvja: nām[ā]: dahyāuš: hav: ham[içiy]ā: abava, "Elam by name, the province, rebellious became." Consequently, Darius' Scythian campaign cannot be interpreted as being a subjugation of the rebellious eastern *Saka*.

Xerxes' Persepolis foundation tablet also refers to pointed-capped *Saka*. The Akkadian texts lists: "Media, Elam, Arachosia, Urartu [Persian: Armenia], Drangiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Sardis, Egypt, the Ionians who live on the salty sea and (those) who live on the other shore of the salty sea, Maka, Arabia, Gandara, India, Cappadocia, Da'an, the Amyrgian Kimmerians [Persian and Elamite versions: *Saka*], the Kimmerians

⁷² Kent, *Old Persian* 140-141.

⁷³ Ibid.: impostors *Bisitun* IV.8-31, DBb-DBj; Skunkha *Bisitun* V.20-31, DBk; see n. 60. G. G. Cameron: "I do emphatically agree that 'Skunkha' is the chap across the Bosphoros."

⁷⁴ Herzfeld, *Persian Empire* 291, n. 3, refers to TC, which Herzfeld misread and dated the Scythian campaign to 525 B.C. Note 1, p. 290, denies the importance of Polyenos' reference to Darius' march to Egypt which, as suggested above, is valuable. Herzfeld refers to W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik* (Leipzig 1914), V. "Bericht über eine Sammlung ägyptischer Gesetze unter Darius" (pp. 30-32) for Darius' control of Egypt in 518.

(wearing) pointed caps, the Skudra (Thracians), Akupish, Libya, Carians, and Kush.”⁷⁵

Herodotus, as well, substituted Cimmerian for Scythian-Saka (4.11-12, 28, 100-101), referred to the Scythian Cimmerian walls, ferry, territory, and Bosphorus in the Crimean area (Cimmerian survives in Crimea), and states that Darius' campaign across the Thracian Bosphorus, through Thrace and western Scythia, proceeded to the west of the Cimmerian Bosphoros and Lake Maiotis, the Sea of Azov (Hdt. 4.123-124, 133). The *Periplus* of Skylax of Karyandra (c. 500 B.C.), an official geographer for the Persian king (Hdt. 4.44), listed five Scythian cities in the eastern Crimean promontory: Theodosia, Kytia, Nymphaia, Pantikapaion, and Myrmekeion.⁷⁶

From this Pontic region, sixth- to fourth-century metal and ceramic objects bear the figures of pointed-capped Scythians: gold axe butt, c. 580-570, Kelermes mound, north Caucasus, east of the Cimmerian Bosphoros;⁷⁷ late sixth-century “Pontic” vase with tall pointed-capped *Saka* (similar to Skunkha at Bisitun and to the *Saka* at Naqš-e Rostam);⁷⁸ fifth-century gold combs from Solokha, northwest of the Crimea;⁷⁹ fifth-century clay figures found in Memphis, Egypt;⁸⁰ and an early fourth-century electrum bowl from Kul Oba on the Cimmerian Bosphoros.⁸¹

In Polyaeus' last chapter of Darius' biography (7.11.7), following the Great King's attack upon Kalchedon, which occurred after the Scythian campaign (also noted by Ktesias F13.21), Polyaeus states that Darius invaded Egypt at the time when the Apis bull was dead. Although Darius' Egyptian expedition occurred between autumn 519 and spring 518, and Apis died on 31 August 518, and was buried on 8 November 518, Polyaeus' story contains a “valuable germ of truth,” namely, that Darius' Egyptian expedition occurred in the year of Apis' death.⁸²

⁷⁵ J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton 1955) no. 4, p. 316; Persian text, Kent, *Old Persian* 150-151, *Xerxes, Persepolis h*.

⁷⁶ A. Baschmakoff, *La Synthèse des Périplus pontiques* (Paris 1948) 64, s.v. Σκύθια.

⁷⁷ M. Artamonov, *Treasures from Scythian Tombs* (London 1969) pl. 16.

⁷⁸ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* I, fig. 9.

⁷⁹ Artamonov, *Treasures* pls. 147-148.

⁸⁰ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* fig. o, p. xxxvii.

⁸¹ Artamonov, *Treasures* pls. 226-229.

⁸² Parker, “Darius and His Egyptian Campaign,” *AJS* 18 (1941) 376. See R. Kent, “Old Persian Texts,” *JNES* 1 (1942) 415-423, esp. 415-421 for *Darius Suez e*.

Subsequent to this campaign, a stele was erected at Tell-el-Maskhoutah which bears the phrase S'K P^h S'K T³, "the Scythians of the marshes, and the Scythians of the plains."⁸³ This division of Scythians parallels those found in the royal Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite records. The Scythians of the eastern plains-steppe regions (S'K T³),⁸⁴ are the Amyrgian *Saka*, as Hellenikos stated. The Scythians of the marshes (S'K P^h) may well be the Scythians dwelling in the marshes of Lake Maiotis.

Consequently, the literary evidence indicates that in 519 Darius campaigned in the Scythian Crimean area, where (according to the archaeological evidence) Scythians with pointed caps dwelt, and that Scythians dwelling in the marshes (probably Lake Maiotis) were noted within the Persian Empire by 517. The pointed cap, however, seems to be common to all the Scythians. But the region referred to by the Persians as the *Saka with the pointed cap* appears to have included the area from the Crimea to the Caspian Sea, between the western Scythians and the eastern Amyrgian Scythians.

To return to TC II.22-25 (the assassination of the tyrant Hipparchos by Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and Darius' invasion of Scythia across the Kimmerian Bosphoros dated in the year 513 B.C.), it was earlier suggested that the chronology of col. II is highly inaccurate and that we cannot accept this date for the Scythian expedition with any confidence. The assassination, however, did occur in 514, twenty-four years prior to Marathon. In regard to the Greek entry, TC preserves the popular Athenian misconception that Hipparchos was the tyrant, rather than his brother Hippias. Perpetuated by the "Harmodios skolion," perhaps the ultimate source for TC II.22-23,⁸⁵

ἐν μύρτον κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω
ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
ὄτ' Ἀθηναίης ἐν θυσίαις
ἄνδρα τύραννον Ἰππαρχον ἐκαυέτην,

⁸³ G. Posener, *La première Domination Perse en Égypte* (Cairo 1936) 54, 184-185.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 185, compares the two notations for Scyths with Darius Naqš-i-Rustam, and equates the S'K P^h with the pointed-cap Scythians. But n. 3 claims: "La position du no. 12 à la fin du groupe des pays orientaux interdit de voir dans S'K P^h la Scythie au nord de la mer Noir." R. Kent, "Old Persian Texts: IV. The Lists of Provinces," *JNES* 2 (1943) 302-306, rejects Posener's suggestion and places the pointed-cap Scythians westward.

⁸⁵ D. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962) nos. 893-896; M. Ostwald, *Nomos* 121-136, "In a myrtle bough I will wear the sword like Harmodios and Aristogeiton, when at the sacrifice to Athena they slew a tyrant man, Hipparchos" (122).

the assassination of Hipparchos symbolized the ultimate overthrow of the tyranny in 510, although Thucydides valiantly corrected the question of who the tyrant was, 1.20, 6.54–57 (cf. Hdt. 5.55, 6.123; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 17–18).⁸⁶

The Persian entry, in contrast, presents a major problem, *TC* II.24–25: Δαρείος ἐπὶ Σκύθας ζεύ[ξ]α[ς τὸν] Κιμμέριον [Β]ώσπορον, parallels Hdt. 4.1, 83–89; Ktesias *FGrH* 688, F13.21; Ephoros *FGrH* 70, F42; and Polyaios 7.11.4. Thus *TC* reports: “And Darius, bridging the Cimmerian Bosporos, crossed over against the Scythians,” and the expedition may now be dated 520–519.

The “Cimmerian Bosporos,” however, should be emended to Θρηίκιον Βώσπορον (cf. Hdt. 4.83; Ktesias *FGrH* 688, F13.21; Ephoros *FGrH* 70, F42; Polybios 4.43.2) which Darius did bridge.⁸⁷ No other evidence exists that Darius reached the Cimmerian Bosporos, much less bridged that strait. Herodotus’ outline of Darius’ campaign north of the Ister is faulty at best, but traces Darius’ expedition to the northwest of the Crimea and its Bosporos, but not to the strait.⁸⁸ At some point in antiquity, nevertheless, “Cimmerian” replaced “Thracian,” and the compiler of the text for *TC* recorded “Cimmerian.” Whether the error arose from misreading Hekataios,⁸⁹ Herodotus, Hellanikos, Ktesias, Ephoros, or whomever, it may never be determined. Someone, well aware that the Scythians against whom Darius campaigned lived in the “Cimmerian region” of the Crimea, assumed that the Bosporos which Darius bridged on his Scythian expedition was the “Scythian Bosporos.” This transfer of adjectives then became recorded in early Roman imperial chronography.

⁸⁶ M. Lang, “The Murder of Hipparchus,” *Historia* III (1954/5) 395–407; S. Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes* (Lund 1955). Diod. Sic. preserves this order: 10.17, the murder of Hipparchos; 10.19.5, Darius’ Scythian expedition; after either Ephoros or the Alexandrian chronologies.

⁸⁷ Henzen *RhM* 9 (1854) 177: “Dass der Chronist hier offenbar den Thrakischen mit dem Kimmerischen Bosporos verwechselt; denn Darius liess über jenen und über den Ister Brücken schlagen, wird aber, so viel ich weiss, nie mit dem Kimmerischen Bosporos in Verbindung gebracht.” Curtius *CIG* IV.685d: “De singulis nihil addam nisi in vss. 15–18 [II.24–6] miro errore de Cimmero Bosporo a Persis juncto tradi.”

⁸⁸ R. W. Macan, “App. II: Geography of Scythia,” *Herodotus* II 15–32; How and Wells, “App. XII: The Scythian Expedition,” *Herodotus* I 429–434; Minns, “Chap. III: Geography of Scythia according to Herodotus,” *Scythians and Greeks* 26–34.

⁸⁹ Hekataios had by 499 (Hdt. 5.49) a map of Darius’ Empire, perhaps procured from his friend Artaphernes, brother of Darius and Satrap of Sardis. It perhaps was drawn in 519 following Darius’ reorganization of the satrapies, but

Consequently, after Darius subjugated Elam early in 520, he probably moved his army into Asia Minor for the winter of 520/519. In *Bisitun* V.2-5, Darius stated that the events of Elam and Scythia occupied the second and the third years. In the spring of 519, from Kalchedon (Hdt. 4.85) Darius crossed over the pontoon bridge designed by the Samian Mandrokles to Byzantion and into Thrace. Darius may have wintered in Kalchedon or perhaps Sardis. In the summer of 519, Darius returned to Asia Minor, crossing over from the Thracian Chersonese to Sestos by boat. It is doubtful that the initial crossing and the bridge could have sustained a winter for Darius to have invaded Europe earlier.

After Darius' return to Sardis (Hdt. 5.11), Otanes marched against Kalchedon (Hdt. 5.26). Ktesias (*FGrH* 688, F13.21) and Polyaeos (7.11.5) attribute the siege to Darius. Ktesias reports that because the Kalchedonians had threatened to cut the ropes of the bridge and had destroyed Darius' altar to Zeus who helps Crossing (? Hdt.'s inscribed stelai in Kalchedon), Darius burned their homes and temples. Polyaeos describes Darius' siege of the Kalchedonian walls and the Persian entry into the city and agora. From Sardis (Hdt. 4.145), the Persians left for Egypt and Libya. The Egyptian revolt (October-December 522) against Darius and his satrap Aryandes (Polyaeos 7.11.7) had remained unsettled. Darius marched against Egypt by land, and Aryandes invaded Libya and conquered Barca and Cyrene (Hdt. 4.200). Darius settled several Barcaeans in Bactria (4.204), and during his Indian campaign the canal program at Suez was completed (Hdt. 4.44) and the commemorative stelai erected.⁹⁰

A chronology of Darius' early reign can be reconstructed upon the evidence of the Persian and Greek sources.

Early July 522: death of Cambyses.

Gaumata's attempt to gain the Persian throne (begun 11 March 522).

before the Scythian expedition, as Scythia was omitted (Herzfeld, *Persian Empire* 288-292).

⁹⁰ Cameron, "Darius, Egypt, and the 'Lands beyond the Sea,'" *JNES* 2 (1943) 307-313; Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Égypte* no. 1, p. 1; Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik* 30. Herzfeld, in consultation with Wade-Gery, notes Thuc. 6.59, that in 513 the Peisistratid Hippias gave his daughter to Aeantides, the son of Hippokles, the tyrant of Lampsakos, because Hippokles had great influence with Darius. Herzfeld believed the marriage took place in or shortly before 514 (although Thuc. clearly states in the fourth year before Hippias' expulsion from Athens) as a result of the Scythian campaign and Darius' presence in the Propontis (Herzfeld, *Persian Empire* 291). Unfortunately, this does not illuminate our problem.

- Darius' attempt to gain the throne.
 29 September 522: assassination of Gaumata.
 Accession of Darius.
 Late September–early October 522, revolt of Nidintu-Bel.
 October (?) 522: revolt of Egypt.
 18 December 522: Darius' defeat of Nidintu-Bel.
 Late December 522: execution of Nidintu-Bel and the re-establishment of Darius.
 Late December 522–January 521: recognition of Darius as king throughout the Empire.
 8 September 521: revolt of Arakha.
 27 November 521: Darius' defeat of Arakha.
 December 521–January 520: recognition (once again) of Darius as king throughout the Empire.
 Late winter–early spring 520; Darius' order for construction of Bisitun.
 Spring (?)–Summer (?) 520: revolt and subjection of Elam.
 Summer (?)–winter 520: preparation for the Scythian expedition into Europe.
 Spring–summer 519: Scythian expedition: bridge across the Thracian Bosphoros; army and fleet to the Ister; army into "Cimmerian" Scythia.
 Late summer 519: Darius' return to Asia Minor (Megabazos remains in Thrace); siege of Kalchedon.
 Autumn 519: appendix to Bisitun (OP V and Skunkha) ordered; Darius' Egyptian campaign.
 Spring 518: Darius' return from Egypt.
 Bisitun completed, the staircase destroyed.

This chronology reveals an active first four years for Darius, who began his distinguished career, in 522, at the age of twenty-eight, as Cambyses' spearbearer in Egypt.⁹¹ The Persian invasion of Europe is established in 519.⁹² The hitherto conjectured eastern Scythian campaign in 519 and the western campaign dated anywhere between 514 and 511 are eliminated.⁹³ The argument that *Bisitun* V.20–30 refers to the unquelled Scythian rebellion of II.5–8 is untenable. Two Scythian campaigns have been postulated, one in 519 as evidenced by *Bisitun* and

⁹¹ Hdt. 1.209, 3.139; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* 107.

⁹² Henzen *RhM* 9 (1854) 177, suggested 508 B.C.

⁹³ G. Gray and M. Cary *CAH*¹ IV, 182–183, 202–204; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* 141, 147–148; R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (Baltimore 1961) 147–148; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland 1963) 42. Note also Poebel, "Chronology of Darius' First Year of Reign," *AJS* 55 (1938) 294–296; and Parker, "Darius and his Egyptian Campaign," *AJS* 58 (1941) 374 n. 1.

a second in 513 as based upon *TC* and Herodotus. *Bisitun* V.20–30: “These Scythians went from me,” does not indicate revolution. Skunkha is not referred to as either a rebel or an impostor. With the elimination of the date presented by *TC*, an analysis of the parallel evidence presented by *Bisitun*, Herodotus, Ktesias, and Polyaeos, every indication points to one Scythian expedition in 519 into Europe.

Darius' drive for the royal tiara, his struggle to reduce one rebellion after another, and to unify the Empire occupied his first four years. The Scythian campaign, therefore, appears to have been a wild divergence into Europe, not previously occupied by Persia. Darius' ambition in 519 could not have been to acquire more land, while his Empire (especially Egypt) was still in rebellion, or to crush the western Scythians in order to prevent their pressure on the Caucasus regions. J. B. Bury (in 1897) suggested that Darius sought gold.⁹⁴ With Scythian gold, Darius could conduct wars to reduce rebellious Egypt and then invade India.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ J. Bury, “The European Expedition of Darius,” *CR* 11 (1897) 277–282, argued that “Darius wanted gold . . . [and] aimed at gaining control of the gold mines of the land of the Agathyrsi — the goldmines” of “Seven Mountains” (281); Hdt. 4.104, Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἀβδύταται ἀνδρῶν εἰσὶ καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα. “Gold was the sole motive, and not vague reports of gold, but knowledge of gold in a definite region” (ibid. 282). Bury, however, considered the campaign was to control Thrace and not Scythia (278). Macan, *Herodotus* II (1895) 39, had also considered the motives to be for gold and grain. Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser* II (1910) 100, supported the “gold motive.” How and Wells, *Herodotus* I (1912) 431, queried Bury's thesis: “no evidence for it, so that it can be neither proved nor disproved.” M. Levi, “La Spedizione scitica de Dario,” *Rivista di Filologia* 61 (1933) 58–70, who cited both *Bisitun* and *TC* as primary evidence for the expedition, considered the control of the southern Pontic region and the area west of the Propontis as the major motive. Bengtson *Griechische Geschichte* (1960) 137 n. 2, explained the expedition as having a “wirtschaftliche motiv.”

Herodotus refers to Scythian gold eight times specifically: 4.5, the Scythian myth of gold things falling from heaven, a plough, yoke, sword, and flask; 4.7, the Scythian myth that their kings guard the sacred gold; 4.10, Scythian gold buckles; 4.13, 27, the “Hyperborean” griffins guarding gold; 4.26, the gilding of flesh sacrifices; 4.71, gold flasks in king's tombs, “They make no use of silver and bronze”; 4.104, the Agathyrsi wearing gold. 4.127, Idanthysos, the Scythian king, says to Darius: “Gifts I will send to you, but before gifts of earth and water (i.e. submission), such as you should rightly receive,” σὰ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δῶρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα οἷα σοὶ πρέπει ἐλθεῖν. 4.131–2, Idanthysos sends a bird, mouse, frog, and five arrows (? in gold), cf. Pherekydes *FGrH* 3, F174; for similar gifts see O. Priaulx, “On the Indian Embassy to Augustus,” *JRAS* 17 (1858–1859) 309–321.

⁹⁵ Hekataios *FGrH* 1, F294–9; Hdt. 3.102 (reports of gold), 4.44. See also Ktesias, “Indika,” *FGrH* 688, F45–52.

Darius the "Huckster," from his first year (Hdt. 3.89), taxed his satrapies systematically and kept the financial interests of his Empire foremost in mind (Polyaenos 7.11.3).⁹⁶ Although Herodotus implies that the Persian expedition failed, Darius quickly did set out to subjugate Egypt in 519-518, and then campaigned in western India, which he conquered by 514. Darius' motive for the Scythian campaign, therefore, was neither to control Thrace nor Scythia, nor to reduce the Scythian tribes, but to extract gold, either as tribute or booty, in order to continue to build his Empire. With gold, Darius returned to Asia Minor and Sardis (Hdt. 5.11) late in the summer of 519, and Otanes besieged hostile Kalchedon which had threatened the pontoon bridge and Darius' ties with the Empire. Immediately, Darius marched southward and invaded Egypt. Megabazos, meanwhile, remained in Thrace and campaigned westward toward the silver- and gold-bearing mountains of the Pangeion (Hdt. 5.1-23).⁹⁷ From Egypt, Darius obtained annually 700 talents of silver in addition to the silver revenues of fish and grain (Hdt. 3.91), and from India the grand sum of 360 talents of gold dust (Hdt. 3.94). In 519 Darius sought similar revenues from Scythia.

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⁹⁶ For Darius' economic "reform" and the transition from tribute in kind to a monetary economy, see Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago 1948) 1-5; Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago 1969) 4-8.

⁹⁷ Silver and gold at Mt. Pangeion, Hdt. 7.112; Myrkinos, 5.23.2; Lake Prasias, 5.17; Darius prevents Histiaios of Miletos from exploiting the silver mines of Myrkinos on the Strymon river, 5.23-24; S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* (Oxford 1926) 59-79. Cf. Aesch. *Persai* 867-870.

THE LEKYTHOS AND *FROGS* 1200-1248*

JEFFREY HENDERSON

PROFESSOR C. H. Whitman's latest contribution to Aristophanic scholarship is his attempt to explain, once and for all, that puzzling scene in the *Frogs* in which Aeschylus destroys one Euripidean prologue after another with a little oil-flask.¹ Whitman's article is but the most recent of a long series of learned conjectures, most (if not all) of which try to identify precisely what the lekythion represents, to find a one-to-one correspondence for the object and the phrase. Whitman's equation lekythion = phallus, which apparently has been winning acceptance, would appear on the surface to give the rather extended scene more sheer humor and more comic momentum than the usual explanations.² Moreover, Whitman makes his equation contribute to the serious criticism in the *Frogs*: if Aeschylus can actually deprive Euripides and Euripides' prologues of their lekythos-phalloi, Aristophanes must be portraying the subterranean triumph of good, virile tragedy over the (literally) effeminate creations of Euripides.

But such an approach is incorrect both factually and in critical method: there is no solid evidence to suggest that lekythion meant phallus here or anywhere else; and even if one could establish that equation, the language and dramatic qualities of the scene itself will not support it. A sounder and more flexible interpretation is clearly needed, one which relies not upon the kind of selective arguments hitherto brought to bear on the problem, but upon a comprehensive evaluation of all the archaeological and literary evidence concerning the lekythos; only thus will we be in a position to analyze and interpret the full meaning and function of the phrase *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν* in the *Frogs*.

Without commenting, for now, on the plausibility of the lost lekythion as a symbol of the death of true tragedy, let us reexamine the evidence Whitman, and those who have followed his lead, adduce to

* I would like to thank Prof. A. Lowell Edmunds for his advice and encouragement in the preparation of this article.

¹ *HSCP* 73 (1969) 109-112.

² These are conveniently summarized by W. B. Stanford, *The Frogs* (London, 1963) 174 ad 1208. Cf. also Whitman 109 n. 1.

support his identification. Aeschylus declares that he can fit anything at all onto any Euripidean prologue,

καὶ κωδάριον καὶ λεκύθιον καὶ θυλάκιον (1203)

Why, asks Whitman, did Aeschylus not vary his attack and use several humble objects to destroy the prologues? Because "Aeschylus was boasting vainly when he mentioned the other two; he could achieve his end only with an oil-flask, partly because it was phallus-shaped, and partly because its first syllable had suggestive possibilities." Whitman's reasoning is that, since the lekythos was phallus-shaped, the word lekythion (otherwise not found with a phallic meaning) could come to mean phallus to the audience if the action on stage contained "phallic byplay" and if Aeschylus emphasized the obscenity by "a certain drawing out of the first syllable of lekythion." Whitman therefore argues for a connection between lekythion and *ληκώ* (mentioned by Hesychius and Photius, elsewhere unattested) or *λαϊκάζω* (which appears in Old Comedy³); both words seem to mean sexual activity of some kind. But this seems quite far-fetched: we cannot demonstrate the byplay; there is no reason to associate lekythion more closely with the obscure *ληκώ* than with any of several other words whose first syllable is lek-;⁴ and (most important) we will see that the lekythion appropriate to this scene could not have been phallus-shaped.

Before we turn to an examination of the oil-flask itself, there are two brief points to be made. First, the collocation of diminutives in line 1203 (quoted above) strikes Mr. J. G. Griffith as obviously obscene.⁵ But the obscenity surely lies in the mind of the beholder: we have no special reason to believe that Aristophanes meant anything more than bedding and a purse here, especially if the third element (the lekythion) was not phallus-shaped. The three objects Aeschylus mentions naturally go together: some kind of small towel, a purse, and one's oil-flask are the standard equipment for the bath.⁶ Aristophanes doubtlessly wanted three diminutives, all domestic objects, designed to give a line parodying Euripides' fondness for metrical resolution and unheroic diction.

Second, Whitman points out that the lekythos was the "inevitable appurtenance of athletes" and therefore a "symbol of masculinity."

³ Ar. *Thesm.* 493; Pherecr. fr. 177K.

⁴ See *LSJ* in the vicinity of *ληκύθιον*. The extra information contributed by J. G. Griffith, "*Ληκύθιον* Ἀπώλεσεν: A Postscript," *HSCP* 74 (1970) 43, adds nothing to the argument.

⁵ See n. 4 above.

⁶ Pollux 3. 155, 10. 64.

Both of these statements are true enough;⁷ but the lekythos was such a ubiquitous article that this one area of its utility would hardly suggest itself as automatically as Whitman assumes it would. For in addition to its masculine associations, the word lekythos was equally appropriate to funerals, women's cosmetics, and cookery.⁸

Obviously, then, such bits of circumstantial evidence hardly prove that lekythion could mean phallus, or that, if it did, its use in our scene could suggest the death of true tragedy. This is not to deny that the effeteness and effeminacy of Euripidean tragedy were prominent Aristophanic themes. They are abundantly exploited in (say) the *Thesmophoriazusae* in the figures of Agathon and Euripides; and in the *Frogs* itself we find certain traces of this metaphor: Whitman rightly points to the specialized use of the word γόνιμος in line 96 meaning "full of productive energy" or "sexually potent,"⁹ used by Dionysus to describe his ideal tragic poet. But it is unsafe to assume that "phallic byplay" in our scene would constitute a viable (or even possible) symbol for suggesting this idea, even if lekythion did mean phallus.

We may now turn to an examination of the oil-flask itself.¹⁰ The term lekythos in the Fifth Century referred to two basic types of flask, neither of them phallus-shaped. The classic white-ground lekythos, common in the middle of the Fifth Century but on its way out toward the end, is the familiar vessel with flat shoulder, a long neck with handle, and a semicylindrical body tapering to a flat base upon which it stood. This lekythos was primarily a storage vessel¹¹ and came in various sizes, from quite large to small. Its utility outside the household was mainly to decorate tombs.¹² The shape of this type of flask evolved

⁷ See, for example, *Thesm.* 139.

⁸ *LSJ* s.v. λήκυθος; Ar. *Eccl.* 1101, *Plut.* 810, *Birds* 1589. See also n. 21 below.

⁹ J. D. Denniston, "Technical Terms In Aristophanes," *CQ* 21 (1927) 113.

¹⁰ For excellent comprehensive treatments of the subject, the following are particularly valuable: D. A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai: Part III," *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 213-217; J. D. Beazley, "Aryballos," *BSA* 29 (1927-1928) 187ff; R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 1960) 232-234; L. J. Elferink, *Lekythos: Archäologische, Sprachliche und Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Amsterdam 1934); J. H. Quincey, "The Metaphorical Sense of Lekythos and Ampulla," *CQ* 43 (1945) 32-44; G. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York 1935) 14ff; H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery* (London 1905), I, 195ff.

¹¹ See n. 8 above.

¹² In addition to many pictorial representations, cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 537f, 996, 1105ff; Plato, scholion to *Hipp. Min.* 368c; *Et. Mag.* and Hesychius s.v. λήκυθος. See Elferink, pp. 8ff.

as a byform of the spherical lekythos with a continuous curve from neck to base; in the early Fifth Century it had adopted its characteristic shoulder and neck; but by the end of the century it was once again merging with the squat or round types and losing its distinctive characteristics.

The other basic type of lekythos was what we today, only for the sake of precision, call the aryballos. This was the "inevitable appurtenance of athletes": small, round, carried suspended from the wrist by cords.¹³ Originally a distinct type with flat mouth (the Corinthian style), this shape merges at the end of the Sixth Century with the Attic round lekythos by taking on the characteristic bell-shaped, "lekythoid" mouth, designed to control the flow of the valuable unguents inside. By the second half of the Fifth Century, these round or squat types of lekythos were by far the more common; they were cheaper and more utilitarian than the more elaborate decorative type described above. When used in a funerary context, the simple round lekythos was buried along with the body rather than used as a showpiece.

The term "aryballos" now used to describe the round, portable type of lekythos is purely a modern convention. It occurs only once in Attic (Aristoph. *Knights* 1094), and there it is used merely to jingle with the word ἀρύταινα, a type of cup or ladle also used at the bath. Aryballos was probably the Dorian word for the type of flask which the Athenians simply called lekythos or (more probably, in view of its small size) lekythion.¹⁴

A third type of flask was distinct from the lekythos in name, shape, and function. This was the alabastos, used exclusively by women to hold perfumes or perfumed oil.¹⁵ Its shape does not vary: it was a slender cylinder about four to eight inches long, wide at the bottom and tapering toward the mouth, without handles (but sometimes having small lugs) and without a base. Like the round lekythos, which could not ordinarily stand by itself, this flask could be suspended from straps; or it could sit in a special ἀλαβαστοθήκη. Its shape and size (unlike that of the lekythos) makes the alabastos suitable for phallic jokes, and we do

¹³ C. Haspels, "How the Aryballos was Suspended," *BSA* 29 (1927-1928) 216-223. For one of many good illustrations, see Richter and Milne, p. 16.

¹⁴ *Et. Mag.*, Hesychius s.v. λήκυθος; Beazley, pp. 187, 194; Richter and Milne, p. 16.

¹⁵ Amyx; Beazley, p. 187 n. 5, points out that, while women could use both the lekythos and the alabastos, men used only the lekythos. Thus, at *Plut.* 810 the μύρον is held in lekythoi, not alabastoi.

find several. Mr. Griffith, mistakenly equating alabastos with lekythos, points to *Lys.* 947:¹⁶

Mv. λαβὲ τόνδε τὸν ἀλάβαστον. *Kl.* ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἔχω

Myrrhine, trying to drive her husband to distraction by her delaying tactics, has fetched her alabastos, which she insists (as does Praxagora in the *Ecclesiazusae*¹⁷) is indispensable to proper lovemaking. A grotesquely distended Cinesias makes the obvious comparison. Mr. Griffith overlooks other jokes of the same type: in the *Acharnians*, a groom's man, carrying an alabastos, comes to Dicaeopolis for a few drops of the Treaty: the groom wants to spend all his days in bed with his bride. Dicaeopolis refuses him, but consents to give a little to the bridesmaid (who has whispered something in his ear); the fluid is accompanied by instructions on how to anoint the groom's phallus, a process which Dicaeopolis vividly demonstrates on the alabastos.¹⁸ In addition, a line from Aristophanes' *Triphales* (fr. 548: ἀλαβαστοθήκας τρεῖς ἔχουσιν ἐκ μιᾶς), though obscure, is unquestionably phallic; noteworthy is the feminine gender of the participle, which again shows the exclusively feminine reference of the alabastos.

To summarize so far, we may say that the lekythion referred to in our scene was the small, round type commonly used by gentlemen at sport or in their bath. Thus, it could never be used to suggest a phallus as can the alabastos which, in addition to being phallus-shaped, was used by women to carry the many tantalizing scents which added zest to lovemaking. All this leads us back to the original question: what is especially funny about the scene? As Whitman rightly observes, a play which gained the unparalleled honor of a second performance surely had something more to offer its audience than those assorted literary jabs at Euripides which are usually brought forth to explain the phrase *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν*.¹⁹ Even in his loftiest moments, Aristophanes is

¹⁶ See n. 4 above.

¹⁷ Ar. *Ecc.* 525f; compare *Lys.* 941f for the intimate connection between sexual relations and the alabastos.

¹⁸ The ἐξάλειπτρον in line 1063 is certainly the alabastos of ten lines earlier: see Amyx 213, n. 104; the scholion to *Ach.* 1063; Pollux 6. 106. Dindorf's note at Pollux 10. 21 (*Adnotationes ad Pollucem* [Lipsiae 1824]) is very helpful. Further information on this little-mentioned vessel in Walters, pp. 133 and 196ff. We may note that Dicaeopolis' command to the bridesmaid to extend her vessel (ὑπέχε) corresponds to the action at *Lys.* 941, as well as to what we see in pictorial representations.

¹⁹ See n. 2 above. The literary criticisms made by both contestants form, of course, the real *raison d'être* of the second half of the play and in this scene constitute the matrix in which Aristophanes builds his more rollicking jokes.

careful to throw in something for everyone's amusement, from the sophisticates in the crowd to the groundlings.

Aside from its literary humor, this scene is funny both in its slapstick action and in its verbal playfulness: an Aristophanic delight in juggling words and phrases, in toying with them until they have yielded their last possible joke. And Aristophanes is at his best when he eliminates the boundaries between this verbal scintillation and the stage action itself, a feat he accomplishes in an extraordinarily vivid fashion in this scene. That is, the phrase *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν*, besides providing a fool-proof literary weapon against Euripides' prologues, becomes the basis for the physical action of the scene as well as the source of several different puns. Thus the phrase performs three distinct but mutually interacting functions: (1) on a literary level, as a component of the plot: to criticize Euripides' prologues (see n. 19); (2) as the basis for slapstick action; and (3) as the source of several more or less random puns. Far from being restricted solely to this or that meaning, *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν* moves prismatically from one meaning to another as the scene runs its course.²⁰

Since the literary impact of the phrase is already well-known, we will begin with the physical action of the scene. What begins as a verbal challenge soon becomes a physical confrontation with Aeschylus' *lekythion* as the weapon. Throughout the first half of this section, Euripides has criticized Aeschylus in a fashion true to Aristophanes' characterization: his attacks are sophistic, nitpicking quibbles designed to show that Aeschylus' poetry is overblown, tautological, and confusing. This is entirely consistent with Euripides' earlier boast that he

It is implicit throughout our scene that Aeschylus is ridiculing the monotonous pattern of Euripides' prologues; his boast in 1200 must be based on his certainty that any prologue Euripides could quote would be suitable for *lekythizing*. The humorous device of repetition is a very good way to emphasize this. Most comic poets use such a device occasionally, as Bergson suggests, always to good effect. L. Radermacher, *Aristophanes Frösche* (Vienna 1954) 310ff, quotes extensive parallels to illustrate this method of satirizing Euripides' "schablonenhafte Anlage." As we saw before, Aeschylus is also criticizing Euripides' fondness for resolution. And there is a continuation of the idea that Euripides has diminished the status of tragedy by introducing unheroic, homely articles (cf. lines 971-991) — the bathetic effect of Aeschylus' trivial phrase is heightened by the untrivial sound of the prologues Euripides chooses.

²⁰ As a distant parallel, compare the scene in *Acharnians* where a starving Megarian tries to sell his twin daughters to Dicaeopolis as *χοῖροι*, a word which means *cunnius* as well as "piggies" and which develops throughout the rather extended scene in a variety of shifting, but significant, double-meanings (for which the scene itself seems to exist).

had trimmed down tragedy by simplifying his characters and their diction,

οἰκεῖα πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς σύνεσμεν (959)

When Aeschylus' turn comes, he first begins to pick at Euripides' prologues with the same quibbles Euripides had used on his own. Of course that cannot work: Aeschylus suddenly assumes his true character and declares that he will no longer scratch about word by word (1197f) but demolish any and all Euripidean prologues with a single little oil-flask. How? asks Euripides. "Because," answers Aeschylus, "you make your prologues in such a way that anything fits in — flask, towel, and pouchlet — and I'll show you right now!" (1202ff).

Of the three objects named, Aeschylus chooses the one which he is actually carrying at the moment, especially since he is dead: *lekythoi*, so common in funerary contexts, would naturally be used to add color to the underworld setting of the *Frogs*.²¹ It is, of course, excellent dramatic practice to find some good use for all the stage properties which the playwright chooses for his play. The first application of the phrase must have been purely verbal: Dionysus echoes the audience reaction: what is the point of this *lekythion*? (1209) Try it again, says Dionysus, and this time Euripides' prologue is Dionysus himself, fitted out with thyrsi, fawnskins, and torches, leaping in bacchic frenzy. Naturally, the actual Dionysus is thunderstruck when his alter ego is hit in mid-leap by the *lekythion*. His cry of empathy (1214),

οἷμοι πεπλήγμεθ' αἰθρῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ληκύθου

is not merely a verbal parody of *Aga.* 1343/1345 but playfully indicates that Aeschylus is now using his oil-flask to batter Euripides' prologues by battering his two rivals themselves. As we noted earlier, the spherical *lekythos* in use at Athens was fitted with a carrying-strap by which it might be whirled around,²² and the wording suggests that here Aeschylus is bolstering his verbal device (the phrase) by using the real weapon, bola-style. That *lekythoi* could be so used on stage is indicated by Harpocration, who mentions Menander's *Trophonius* as an example.²³

²¹ It may perhaps be worth noting that Aristophanes uses the *lekythos* elsewhere as a stage property: the *ἐπτακοτύλη λήκυθος* of fr. 472 seems to have been a large vessel carried on stage by a bibulous woman as a "fellow actress" (*συνθεάτρια*). Cf. Pollux 10.67 with Dindorf's note; F. Blaydes, *Aristophanis Deperditarum Comoediarum Fragmenta* (Halis Saxonum 1885), 249.

²² See Quincey, pp. 35f.

²³ See n. 34 below.

There may also be something of this nature in a fragment from Aristophanes' *Pelargoi* (435),²⁴

βαλανεύς δ' ὠθεῖ ταῖς ἀρυταίναις

In any case, the language throughout makes it clear that the physical battering of Euripides and Dionysus is the dominant action of the scene in 1223: Euripides swears that he will knock the lekythion out of Aeschylus' grasp (ἐκκεκόψεται);²⁵ in 1224 Dionysus urges Euripides to "give him another prologue and keep clear (ἀπέχου) of his lekythos"; otherwise, Aeschylus will "thoroughly batter" (διακναίει, 1228) the prologues.

In addition to its physical usefulness the lekythion provides the occasion for several gratuitous puns. In 1220, after the third prologue has been tagged, Dionysus tells Euripides to lower sail (ὀφείθει) in the face of the storm blowing up from Aeschylus' lekythos. This is certainly an allusion to lekythos as "bombast" or "wind," but it does not refer to Euripides: Euripides' characters would not be carrying lekythoi for that reason — they were anything but loud and bombastic.²⁶ This metaphor refers rather to the invincible lekythos of Aeschylus. The word πνευσεῖται as "bluster like a storm" is an excellent one to describe the old playwright's γηγενές φύσημα (825), here transferred to his weapon.²⁷ And there may even be a double pun in πνευσεῖται, which

²⁴ Compare the collocation of ἀρύταινα and aryballos at *Knights* 1094. Blaydes, ad loc., cites additional references. Dindorf at Pollux 10.63 rightly translates ὠθεῖ = pulsare aliquem et uerberibus accipere; see also *LSJ* s.v. ὠθέω.

²⁵ Perhaps the object of such lekythos-fights was to strike the opponent's lekythos from his grasp? If so, the phrase ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν would have a basis in the physical action as well as its obvious usefulness as a literary/metrical weapon. At any rate, we may be sure that Aeschylus' whirling lekythos was a forceful way to drive home his verbal points. Perhaps Radermacher is right in seeing in προσάψαι a reference to the game of "capping" quotations (as in Athenaeus 457e), a kind of literary "tag" which in our scene was extended to the physical sphere. Cf. the contest of Homer and Hesiod, and the famous refrain of Hegemon of Thasos (*Paroem. Gr.* I. 406).

²⁶ Hence Quincey's equation ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν = "lost his wind" cannot be correct.

²⁷ The sonic properties of lekythoi are well-attested. In Aristophanes we find κομπολάκυθος (*Ach.* 589), a compound of κομπολακύν (cf. *Frogs* 961 of Aeschylus' diction) and λήκυθος. κομπασία and κομπεῖν were, as Quincey points out (p. 37 n. 3), technical terms for "ringing" a vase for soundness. There is some evidence (Quincey, p. 37) to suggest that the lekythos, hollow and spherical as it was, could be used by actors for voice-projection exercises. These sonic qualities may account also for two onomatopoeic words for lekythos, βομβύλιος and βομβύλη (cf. schol. on Hephaestion *Ench.* 6 discussing the sounds emanating

can also mean "give off a fragrance"; this would be entirely appropriate for a vessel often used to carry and store unguents of all kinds.²⁸

After the fourth application of Aeschylus' whirling phrase, Dionysus advises Euripides to buy Aeschylus' lekythion: there is no way he can prevent his adversary from tagging it onto any prologue he meets. Naturally, Euripides refuses: Me buy from him? (1229), an obvious echo of a line in the first half of the *agon* section on prologues (1134). But Aeschylus is not to be denied. Dionysus repeats his exhortation, "Please buy it by any means you have, my friend; you'll get it for an obol and it's a grand lekythos" (1235f).²⁹ But Dionysus himself must finally terminate Euripides' hopeless struggle with the observation that lekythoi grow on Euripides' prologues like styes on eyes (1246f). The lekythos, round and full of fluids, naturally suggests boils and other swellings³⁰ and is so used in *Eccl.* 1101, where the scholiast rightly glosses, ἔχουσαν λήκυθον ὠδηκυῖαν. And with this lowly and unlovely image, our section of the *agon* closes and the trio pass on to choral passages.³¹

There is an additional appropriateness of the lekythion to Euripides' prologues, one which has been noted but misunderstood. Mr. J. T.

from empty lekythoi). There are other words which seem to push us to the same conclusion about this metaphor: ληκυθίζειν (Callim. fr. 10, 13P; Pollux 4.114, 7.182); ληκυθιετής (Suda); ληκυθισμοί (Plut. 2.1086e). Cf. also the scholion to Plato, *Hipp. Min.* 368c and that to Ar. *Ach.* 564. J. Taillardat, *Les Images d' Aristophane* (Paris 1962) 297f, has collected additional references.

²⁸ See LSJ s.v. πνέω.

²⁹ I follow Stanford, ad loc.

³⁰ The name of the old woman (Phryne = toad) also suggested a swollen neck; cf. the Suda s.v. φρύνη: λήκυθος δ', τουτέστι διωδηκυῖα τὸ πρόσωπον. The scholiast's other suggestion, ληκυθον ἢ ῥυτίς, calls for a slightly different image, that of the pouch-like sagging of an old woman's jaws. That the round lekythos lent its name to pouches seems clear from Pollux 10.152 (with Dindorf's note) and Plut. *Sulla* 12. Photius s.v. λήκυθος refers to certain travelers who carry coins in lekythoi — impossible unless lekythoi here = leather pouches. We may also note that the name of the aryballos, which in Fifth Century Athens was formally identical with the lekythos, was popularly derived from βαλλάντιον: see Frisk, *Gr. Etym. Wörterb.* and Chantraine, *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Grecque* (both s.v. ἀρύβαλλος) for further details. Perhaps we may compare the scholiast's notation with Plato *Symp.* 190c-191a, where Aristophanes describes the cleaving of the originally spherical men. Apollo pulls their skin taut over the belly ὥσπερ τὰ κύμαστα βαλλάντια, after which he smoothes out the wrinkles (ῥυτίδας).

³¹ We need make no mention of the seventh lekythized prologue, in which Oeneus loses his lekythos while sacrificing, other than to observe that Dionysus' question (καὶ τίς αὖθ' ὑφέιλετο; 1242) shows not only the common utility of the lekythos but the utter inappropriateness of the equation lekythion = phallus.

Hooker, following Whitman, tries to prove a phallic interpretation for the word *αὐτολήκυθος*.³² He reasons that, since Demosthenes (*Against Conon* 14) speaks of certain dissolute young aristocrats as *αὐτολήκυθοι* in the same breath with the obviously phallic name *Ἰθύφαλλοι*, then the former, too, must be phallic. But aside from this doubtful deduction, he cannot document his argument. He alleges only the worthless argument from *ληκόω* and cites two Dutch scholars as if they had anything more to add.³³

The traditional interpretation of the word *αὐτολήκυθος* remains the most obvious: *autolekythoi* are people who carry their own lekythoi either because they are so poor that they must carry what a slave usually carried, or because they are engaged in activities so nefarious that they would prefer not to have a slave present, or both. To supplement the usual arguments in favor of this interpretation,³⁴ we may add the following. In the *Athamas* of Antiphanes (fr. 16K) we hear of someone

χλαμύδα καὶ λόγχην ἔχων
ἄξυνακόλουθος, ξηρός, αὐτολήκυθος.

The meaning is clear: a man without companions, carrying his own lekythos, and probably poor (we may compare this use of *ξηρός* with *Wasps* 1452 where the chorus thus describes Philocleon's former "dry" and spare life-style). For poverty we may compare also Hesychius s.v. *λήκυθος* and the scholion to Plato *Hipp. Min.* 368c.³⁵ As for more sinister connotations, we note that any gentleman would normally have a *ληκυθοφόρος* to carry his bathing equipment.³⁶ Moreover, carrying such equipment was hardly the noblest of tasks even for slaves; parasites are especially associated therewith.³⁷

³² "Αὐτολήκυθοι," *RhM* 113 (1970), 162-164.

³³ van Lennep and Verdenius, respectively in *Hermeneus* 30 (1962) 192 and 225. The same holds true for C. Zink's 1883 dissertation, *Adnotationes ad Demosthenis Orationem In Cononem*, p. 22, who does not prove what Hooker says he proves. Hooker also cites Quincey's article as support for his phallic interpretation, although Quincey in fact offered no such evidence.

³⁴ See *LSJ* s.v. *αὐτολήκυθοι*; A. T. Murray, *Demosthenes' Private Orations* (Cambridge, Mass. 1935), III, 138n. a; Harpocration s.v. *αὐτολήκυθοι*, with Dindorf's *Adnotationes ad Harpocrationem*, II, 136-138 where additional material is given.

³⁵ Cf. also Photius (n. 28 above). *μονολήκυθος* (Poseidippus in Athenaeus 414e) may also refer to *autolekythos*.

³⁶ Pollux 3.155; 10.64. In 3.54 he notes also the vulgar term *στλεγγιδολήκυθος*.

³⁷ Cf. Pollux 4.20 (and Dindorf's note, which cites Aristophanes and several Plautine references (borrowing from Greek sources?). See Cicero, *de Fin.* 4.12.

But, most important, Demosthenes himself vindicates the traditional interpretation. In his oration he describes the young men in question as violent and dangerous; their outrages have nothing to do with sex but with assaults and rowdyism. They are “ready for anything” (54.36), and this *ἐτοιμότης* of theirs is surely the basis for the nickname *autolekythoi*. It is a thumbing of the nose at decent society, a contemptuous adoption of the mores of lower classes, much in the spirit of modern well-to-do young men who join gangs with names like “Hell’s Angels” or “Born Losers.” The fitness of the concept for Euripides’ heroes is clear: poverty, if not outright nefariousness, was a notorious characteristic of theirs. Aeschylus’ implication is that Euripides’ characters are none too lofty and uprightly heroic — in fact, they are characterized with the same triviality and questionable mores that Aeschylus so often accuses Euripides of engendering in the audiences who watch his plays (cf. for example *Frogs* 1078).³⁸

It is by now apparent that the solutions proposed by Whitman and other scholars are proven wrong, inadequate, or (at best) incomplete when tested against the language and dramatic movement of the lekythion-scene. By reading the scene dynamically as a frame upon which Aristophanes allows the verbal and physical possibilities of what seems at first to be a randomly chosen phrase develop as they will, we have, I hope, arrived at an interpretation more in accord with the poet’s comic *ingenium* than has been possible by contriving narrow equations.

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³⁸ Could this be why the *δυσγενής* in line 1219 lost *his* *lekkythos*?

NATIONALITY AS A FACTOR IN ROMAN HISTORY

F. W. WALBANK

I

IN the *De Officiis*¹ Cicero has some interesting remarks on the various levels at which men can associate. First there is the very general bond which joins all human beings; then, coming a little closer, we have the sharing of the same *gens*, *natio*, or *lingua*, a very strong form of human association. Still more intimate is the link between those who enjoy the same *civitas*: for *cives* have many things in common between them, the forum, shrines, porticoes, streets, laws, legal rights, courts, the vote, and in addition social intercourse and friendships and the business contacts which link large numbers of men together. Closer still is the bond between kinsmen. With the last I am not concerned; but what is the difference between *gens*, *natio*, *lingua*, and on the other hand *civitas*? *Civitas* here seems to have its narrow sense — not the legal rights of a Roman citizen living, for example, in Narbonne, but the intimate association of those who walk the same streets and forum, vote in the same booths, worship at the same temples, and contract friendships and business ties with each other. *Gens*, *natio*, and *lingua* signify the wider community, the Latins, Sabines, Volscians, Samnites, and Etruscans, referred to by Cicero elsewhere, in a fragmentary passage of the *De Republica*² — “*Italiae Latium aut eiusdem Sabinam aut Volscam gentem . . . Samnium . . . Etruriam*,” and he goes on to mention Magna Graecia, the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Carthaginians. It is these groupings that come as near as we shall get to the modern concept of a “nation.” But it is worth noting that for the passage cited from the *De Officiis* Cicero’s source was Panaetius.³ Perhaps, then, the original referred to a Greek context, and the *civitas* with its streets and forum, its laws, rights, and law courts, was a Greek *πόλις*; in which case the wider grouping, the *gens* or *natio*, will have been the *γένος* or *ἔθνος*,

¹ Cic. *Off.* 1.53.

² Cic. *Rep.* 3.7.

³ Cf. Cic. *Att.* 16.11.4.

the Hellenic race or one of the various stocks that composed it — what Plato⁴ calls τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένη.

The Greeks of course had a clear concept of being united by common kinship and ancestry and of being in some sense separate from the non-Greek world of barbarians. One need hardly list the factors which contributed to this notion, or those elements in Greek history which bear witness to its persistence.⁵ The important and perhaps somewhat disheartening fact is that this concept of Hellas as a nation never found expression in the political organisation of the Greek world, which remained fragmented into a variety of individual sovereign states. Before looking at the form which those states took, we may perhaps pause for a moment at this concept of the "nation." In the middle of the twentieth century the idea of a nation, with its inherent right to political independence, is among the most potent political forces at work. Yet to define a nation is not easy. Political theorists have tried to isolate its essentials. Meinecke, who made one of the more outstanding contributions to this discussion, argued that nationhood depends on sharing some — not necessarily all — of the following: a common habitation, a common language, a common spiritual and intellectual life, and a common state or share in a federation of states; and he devised two German terms, *Staatsnation* and *Kulturnation*, to describe the nation existing as it were *in esse* and that existing only *in posse*.⁶

Much of this is valid. But it does not perhaps bring out sufficiently one fundamental point — that ultimately men constitute a nation because and when they believe they constitute one; and the real distinction is not so much that between a *Kulturnation* and a *Staatsnation*, but that between a group of men who have succeeded in asserting their right to be treated as a nation and a similar group who have yet to do so. Incidentally, it is often the very struggle to win independence that itself creates the consciousness of being a nation. A few years ago a German scholar wrote a book⁷ to prove, among other things, that in Greece the separate πόλεις were so highly differentiated that we ought to regard them as constituting separate nations. On this hypothesis, Hellas as a whole was the ancient equivalent, not of modern Germany or Italy or Great Britain, but of modern Europe. The argument is not convincing.

⁴ Plato, *Laws* 3.693a.

⁵ Cf. Walbank, *Phoenix* (1951) 41-60.

⁶ F. Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*⁷ (Munich and Berlin 1928) 3.

⁷ H. E. Stier, *Grundlagen und Sinn der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1945).

Many of the concepts and the loyalties which go to make up the reality of a modern nation are certainly present in the Greek *πόλις*: but the Greek *πόλις* is not a nation, not because it is small — today Albania and the United States both rank as nations — but because there existed a sufficient number of powerful ideas which meant something real to Greeks everywhere, common blood (it was believed), a common tongue (despite the dialects), a common religion (despite the local cults), and a common way of life, which cannot be reconciled with the notion of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta as separate nations.

There is a further point. Not only was the *πόλις* not an independent nation; it was by no means the only form of Greek political organisation. There is a formula which is very common on Hellenistic inscriptions — peoples, cities, and princes, *ἔθνη, πόλεις καὶ δύνασται*.⁸ Polybius uses it⁹ almost as a synonym for the content of political history "the doings of peoples, cities, and princes." In classical Greece it appears in a shorter form, *ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις* (without the *δύνασται*), as a comprehensive phrase to cover states of every kind; it occurs in the Amphictyonic oath recorded by Aeschines¹⁰ and in the document setting up the Hellenic League of Philip II¹¹; and it continues right down into the Roman empire. Aelius Aristides, for example, in his famous speech on Rome applies it¹² to the cities and provinces of the Empire of the second century A.D. In both classical and Hellenistic times much of Greece proper fell under the category of *ἔθνη*, peoples, rather than of *πόλεις*, cities. The peoples were there before the cities. Indeed, it was only with the breaking up of the unity of the peoples that the cities arose; and it is significant, as Larsen has pointed out,¹³ that *ἔθνος* can be used to describe a federal state like Achaea just as well as a more primitive tribal community like the Thesprotians, the Agraeans, or the fifth-century Aetolians. Transition to a federal state was often easier for a community organised in villages with a strong tribal sense than it was

⁸ Cf. Diod. 19.57.3; *OGIS*, 229 line 11; 441 line 132; *Syll.* 590 lines 12-14; 760; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) 502-503, 1347, 1439-1440; Sallust, *Epist. Mithr.* "namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis una et ea vetus causa bellandi est: cupido profunda imperi et divitiarum."

⁹ Polyb. 9.1.4, with my commentary.

¹⁰ Aeschin. 3.110.

¹¹ *IG* IV² 1.68, line 78.

¹² Ael. Arist. in *Romam* 31; J. H. Oliver, "The Ruling Power," (*Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.* 43; 4 [1953]) 918, for epigraphical evidence.

¹³ J. A. O. Larsen, *CP* (1945) 78 n. 72; *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Berkeley 1955) 22-23.

for more highly differentiated cities, and if, for example, we study the development of the Boeotian federation, we find that it was the particularism and ambition of the powerful *polis* of Thebes that constituted the greatest obstacle to lasting union. Whereas in an area like Achaea, where the cities were small and unambitious, the consciousness of belonging to the *ἔθνος* seems to have assisted federal union at an early date, and led to a development free from strong feelings of particularism; it is noteworthy that Achaea could absorb Naupactus and Calydon, cities lying across the Corinthian Gulf,¹⁴ as members of the confederacy in the early fourth century just as easily as the revitalised confederacy of the third century was to absorb Sicyon, Argos, Corinth, and Megalopolis.¹⁵

In its early days the *πόλις* too seems to have had potentialities for growth. The synoecism of Attica created a small territorial state with a single citizenship — that of Athens — within its boundaries. But Athens was not typical, and this flexibility was not a characteristic of the later *πόλις*, which seems to have conceived expansion only in terms of hegemony and empire. I have digressed a little to discuss these points because they show that whereas in Greek history the concept of a Greek nation remained almost an abstract idea to which one paid lip service in crisis or on ceremonial occasions, the growing points towards greater unity lay in the *ἔθνη*, whether tribal areas or federal states; it is hardly necessary to add that federalism is one important way to the birth of a nation.

The failure of the Greeks to realise their potentiality as a nation was due to several causes of which the particularism of the *πόλις* was only one (though an important one). Philip II's victory at Chaeronea led to an attempt to impose Greek unity from without, and not unnaturally union on those terms was resisted and rejected. Shortly afterwards Alexander's campaigns in Asia, the overthrow of the Persian empire, and the setting-up of Greco-Macedonian monarchies over the Middle East opened up new perspectives, which made the question of a Greek national state even more academic than it had been in the fifth and fourth centuries. The geographical element had always been a serious obstacle to Greek unity. Obviously contiguity must be an important factor in the creation of a national state — consider the problem of Pakistan — and the wide scatter of Greeks over the length and breadth

¹⁴ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4.6. 1–14; W. M. Oldfather, "Naupaktos," *RE*, cols. 1989–1990; von Geisau, "Kalydon," *RE* col. 1763.

¹⁵ Sicyon, 251 (Plut. *Arat.* 9.4); Corinth, 243 (Plut. *Arat.* 18–23); Argos, 229 (Plut. *Arat.* 35); Megalopolis, 235 (Plut. *Arat.* 30).

of the Mediterranean during the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries had produced a configuration incapable of being drawn together within a single political unity. The new *diaspora* after Alexander was accompanied by the rise, not now of independent *poleis*, but of multiracial monarchies, in Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Middle East, which created a new world and added the new element to the old formula, which now became "peoples, cities, and *princes*."

II

Faced with the particularism of the *polis* and later with the reality of the wide territorial monarchy, the idea of the Greek nation remained ghost-like; and I have prefaced my discussion of nationality as a factor in Roman history with these remarks on Greece because the history of Rome, even more than that of Greece, seems to evolve inside a field enclosed within the two poles of the city-state and the multiracial empire. In the *gens* or *natio* of Cicero's terminology we find a unit which is not at first sight very significant for the growth of Rome, except as an obstacle which stood in her way. Rome could develop into a nation only by some form of expansion; and the first area which appears to invite such expansion is of course Latium. Despite their name, drawn as were those of the Volsci and the Hernici from the area where they lived, the flat country, the Latins, like those peoples, constituted and felt themselves to be what the Greeks would have called an *ἔθνος*, a tribal or ethnic unit. At a later date the Romans used to speak of them as the *nomen Latinum*, and Mommsen argued¹⁶ that *nomen* in this phrase meant *Stamm* or tribe, a view in which he has been widely followed.¹⁷ This is perhaps not very likely.¹⁸ Latin has two perfectly good words, *gens* and *natio*, to describe a tribal community; and the Romans used the word *nomen* in non-tribal contexts, as when they spoke of the *nomen Albanum* in relation to Alba Longa.¹⁹ But there is, after all, no need to tie up the question of Latin ethnic unity with the phrase *nomen Latinum*, which despite Livy's use of it in connection with events of 495 B.C.²⁰ could well be a term adopted after 338 to describe the new sort of

¹⁶ T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii (Leipzig 1871-1888) 608 n. 1.

¹⁷ Cf., for example, Ernst Meyer, *Römischer Staat und Staatsgedanke* (Zurich 1948) 15.

¹⁸ See on this P. Catalano, *Linee del sistema sovranazionale romano* i (Turin 1965) 216ff.

¹⁹ Livy 1.23.4.

²⁰ Livy 2.22.7.

Latins whose Latinity had a juridical rather than an ethnic basis; and even if it was used earlier, it may have indicated the more political aspects of Latin organisation. Latin ethnic unity is clear enough without it; already in Hesiod²¹ one encounters Latinus, personifying the tribe.

Whether Latium and Rome together could ever have evolved into a nation is, however, a question not easily answered, especially in view of the uncertainty which surrounds the early relations of Rome with the Latins. Recently, De Visscher²² has argued that an original close relationship is to be deduced from the phrase *ius Quiritium*, which was used — our evidence comes from the early empire — to describe the rights which, when given to a Junian Latin, made him the equivalent of an ordinary Roman freedman. De Visscher suggests²³ that this usage derives from archaic times, when the phrase was used to designate the rights of the community of the Quirites vis-à-vis other Latins, while in relation to the outside, non-Latin world the Roman “maintained the solidarity of the *nomen Latinum*.” I confess I find it difficult to imagine exactly how these archaic Romans “maintained the solidarity of the Latin name.” They may have avoided describing Roman rights as *ius Quiritium*, when dealing with non-Latins, but presumably they called themselves Romans; and it is because there is nothing anywhere in our tradition to suggest that a Roman faced with a query about his *origo* would ever have answered it by replying “*Latinus sum*” that De Visscher’s argument seems to me unsatisfactory.

It is true that our tradition is Roman and therefore puts Rome in the forefront of the picture. But despite this, it is clear that Rome was not simply a typical Latin city. Tradition and archaeology are agreed in tracing several distinct elements, whether cultural, tribal, or racial, in her foundation; and her striking position on the northern marches of Latium singled her out from other peoples within the Latin community. The earliest growth of Rome is recorded under the first kings. The details are probably as legendary as the kings themselves; but the location of the places named suggests a logical pattern of expansion in the lower valley of the Tiber and the foothills beyond the Anio, and the important point for the present discussion is that it was an expansion similar to that of Athens inside Attica — that is, expansion by means of synoecism. The towns or communities in question were incorporated in the Roman state and their inhabitants simply became Romans.

²¹ Hes. *Theog.* 1013.

²² *Études de droit romain public et privé* 3rd ser. (Milan 1966) 101–116 (= *Studi in onore di Ugo Paoli*, Florence [1955] 239–251).

²³ *Ibid.*, 103ff.

This development seems to have been checked by the time of the Etruscan domination, or at least of its later phase. For the process of synoecism practised by Rome found a counterpart in the other cities of Latium and the number of separate communities had already diminished by this same process of political cannibalism. By the reign of Superbus one has the impression that Latium consisted of differentiated cities which resisted further Roman expansion along the earlier lines. Out of the various religious leagues existing in early Latium had developed political associations, probably facilitated by the sense of kinship; the most important such association seems to have been that connected with the council of the *Lucus Ferentinae*.²⁴ According to Livy and Dionysius, the younger Tarquin gained some control of this federal body.²⁵ Judging from the evidence contained in the treaty between Rome and Carthage,²⁶ which dates to the first year of the republic, direct Roman — which probably means previous direct Etruscan — domination of Latium was confined to a group of coastal towns stretching down to Tarracina; but this treaty also recognises another group of Latin people, not subject to Rome, and these may represent the League of the *Lucus Ferentinae* with which Rome enjoyed relations of a different kind, perhaps even membership of the League amounting to virtual hegemony.

The details, however, are speculative and not to be pressed. Nor are they important for the present discussion; here the point is rather that at an early date Roman expansion into Latium in the form of straightforward synoecism seems to have been checked and a relationship based on specific *foedera* to have taken its place. After the expulsion of the Tarquins there is a period when Rome is fighting the Latin League, and this ends after the battle of Lake Regillus with the famous Latin Treaty of 493 associated with the name of Spurius Cassius.²⁷ Although it is true that we later find special conditions in the relationship of Rome with the Latins, including interchangeability of citizenship (which may link with the *isopolity* referred to by Dionysius),²⁸ and though the connection with the Latins always remained something distinct from the relations with the other Italian peoples, nevertheless, the Latin Treaty put the seal on a new development already foreshadowed in the treaty with Gabii²⁹ and perhaps, if we had the evidence, in treaties with other

²⁴ Dion. Hal. 3.45-48.

²⁵ Livy, 1.50-51; Dion. Hal. 3.45-48.

²⁶ Polyb. 3.22.4-13.

²⁷ Livy, 2.33.9; Dion. Hal. 6.95; Cic. *Balb.* 53.

²⁸ Dion. Hal. 4.58.4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

states. I need not go into the question of whether the Latin Treaty was made with the League as a whole or with all the members of it separately; for in either case, this instrument, which was to govern the relations between Rome and Latium down to 338, directed them on bilateral lines — Rome was one party, the Latins another. Rome, a developed city under the Tarquins, gradually came to dominate federal Latium not from within, like Thebes inside the Boeotian Confederacy, but from without, on the basis of the treaty. It was this relationship that ensured that Latium, including Rome, was never to evolve into a nation.

However, Rome was to have a second opportunity to create a nation, and this time apparently with more success. The Romans were a people of political ingenuity and did not remain constricted within the system set up by the treaty of 493. Repeatedly, for one reason or another, they reverted to the older method of synoecism, the expansion of Roman territory and with it the expansion of the *civitas Romana*. As I have indicated, this process was not novel; it had operated effectively in early Attica. But the new feature about it in the case of Rome was that it continued to be used in a world of developed cities, and that it recognised no territorial limitations. This expansion of the principle of the city-state gradually made headway against the system of alliances and opened up new political vistas in Italy. "Rome had to reach out," writes Haarhoff,³⁰ "adapting, rather than adopting, what was new, and bringing a new nation to birth." The unification of Italy was a Roman achievement carried out despite the immense racial confusion of a peninsula which contained Gauls, Etruscans, Greeks, Illyrians, Sabelians, and Latins — and Phoenicians, if one counts in Sicily. Already something of the significance of what was happening was evident to the peoples of the East, Greeks and Levantines, who used the words *Italici* and *Ῥωμαῖοι* indiscriminately for any inhabitants of Italy and Sicily whom they happened to run against; and the Italians themselves used the name *Italici* on eastern inscriptions from the early second century onward.³¹ The Social War, it is true, may seem to suggest that the first evidence of anything like the concept of an Italian nation was inspired not by Rome, but by the opposition movement culminating in armed rebellion. Certainly Corfinium was renamed "Italia," and Samnite coins depict the Italian bull, the symbol of Italy, "Vitellius," the cattle-country, goring the Roman wolf. Marsic coins show eight

³⁰ T. J. Haarhoff, *The Stranger at the Gate* (Oxford 1948) 123.

³¹ Cf. Brunt, *JRS* (1965) 100 n. 72, quoting Hatzfeld, *Les Trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique* 238ff.

warriors representing the peoples who had joined the *coniuratio* swearing an oath together against Rome.³² But appearances are deceptive. All this, as Brunt has shown,³³ was only a second best. The real aim of the allies was to attain Roman citizenship, to be absorbed in the Roman state; and once this was conceded, they seized it with alacrity. The Samnites may be the exception. They are shown in our sources as the irreconcilables.³⁴ But even this intransigence may be the invention of Sulla, seeking to justify the massacre of the supporters of an opposing faction.³⁵ The truth is that, by the beginning of the first century B.C., Rome had created Italy, an Italy which stretched technically to the Rubicon, but in effect to the Alps;³⁶ and the Italian struggle was really designed to force the Romans to bring the Italian nation to birth. After 88 Italy enjoyed a common status symbolised by a common dress — “*Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam*”;³⁷ the use of Latin was expanding everywhere, even outside the solid Latin areas of central Italy; and one can trace a revealing imitation of Roman ways and institutions throughout the peninsula. Italy stood out for close on three centuries as distinct from the overseas possessions of Rome; and the special juridical concept of *ius Italicum* underlined its unity and this contrast.³⁸

The unity was not achieved all at once. Italy possessed many *populi*, both cities and tribes, and full assimilation was hardly completed in some areas before the end of the Republic. But gradually, in the century following the Social War, the peninsula was transformed into a chess-board of *municipia*, each with its *territorium*. The problem of loyalties seemed solved. In the *de legibus* Cicero enunciated the new doctrine that each *municeps* possesses two *patriae*, “*unam naturae, alteram civitatis*”;³⁹ and Vergil, a man from Cisalpine Gaul, uses “Roman” and “Italian” as virtually interchangeable terms. Nevertheless, one must make qualifications. The citizenship remained that of a city, not of a country; for Cato it was Tusculum and Rome, not Tusculum and

³² For the Italian coins, see *BM Coins*, *R. Rep.* ii.317ff.

³³ *JRS* (1965) 90–109.

³⁴ See Vell. Pat. 2.27 for Pontius Telesinus’ remark that Rome must be utterly destroyed, and the wolves rooted out from their lair.

³⁵ So Brunt above (n. 31) 97.

³⁶ See the note in my commentary on Polyb. 3.61.11 for the shift from the Aesis to the Rubicon frontier, probably by 133.

³⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 1.282.

³⁸ On *ius Italicum* see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 3.631 n. 2; 684 n. 1 (later grants outside Italy).

³⁹ Cíc. *Leg.* 2.2.5.

Italy. Although the idea was envisaged,⁴⁰ nothing was done to allow citizens to exercise their voting rights within their municipalities; it was as Romans they voted, not Italians, and so appropriately they must continue to vote in Rome. Moreover, one of the features for which the Roman citizenship is commonly and justly applauded, its capacity for extension, meant that by the time of Augustus — indeed from the end of the third century B.C. — there were already *cives Romani*, some settled in *coloniae*, overseas. This geographical extension of Roman and Latin rights to individuals, cities, and eventually whole provinces, and even grants of *ius Italicum* to selected areas abroad,⁴¹ were to render it increasingly hard to say wherein the special character and national identity of Italy consisted. In fact, *civitas Romana* was not merely an inadequate basis as a definition of the Italian nation; it was in the long run destined to destroy that very concept.

During the last hundred years the modern world has witnessed the break-up of several large units like the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires and the liquidation of vast colonial areas like the British and French empires, and the substitution of national states. The history of Rome presents this picture in reverse — the breaking down of national groups and the substitution of one vast supranational state. The element of growth within that state was the Roman citizenship: but the modern practice of equating citizenship with nationality can only lead to confusion if we apply it in the Roman world. And if modern experience merely hinders the understanding of the Roman problem, the experience of Greece helps us even less, for in Greece, as I have indicated, the question of nationality was bound up with the problem of combining, of sinking particularism in the larger unit; and because this was never a real possibility, was never indeed wholeheartedly tried, the concept of the Greek nation remains something ghostlike on the fringe of real political experience. In the developed Roman empire, on the other hand, the concept of nationality and nationalism is something to be outgrown (as in the case of Italy) or overwhelmed, when it finds expression in separatism and resistance to the imperial state. Greek political activity, one might say, takes place below the national level, Roman above it; but in either case nationality and nationalism are condemned to impotence.

III

By the time the Romans had been driven to grant *civitas* to all the peoples of Italy, they had already won a footing in many parts of the

⁴⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 46.

⁴¹ See above, n. 38.

Mediterranean world. Here, in the provinces, Romans came into contact with a wide variety of peoples of different race and language, who naturally formed their own impressions of the ruling power; and insofar as the problem of nationality arises in imperial times, it is in this context that it has to be looked for. Recently there has been a great growth of interest in the attitudes of the non-Roman peoples, contrasted with the main tradition of Roman history, which was of course pro-Roman and generally concerned with the views and achievements of the Roman governing class. As examples of this trend one thinks of the work of Fuchs⁴² on the ideological opposition to Rome; of Haarrhoff's study⁴³ of exclusiveness and cooperation in the classical world; of Frend's history of the Donatist movement⁴⁴ in North Africa; and of Lambrechts' work⁴⁵ on the persistence of the local religions of north Gaul and Germany; and it is not without significance that two of these scholars themselves come from countries in which problems of race relations and what Toynbee has called "linguistic nationalism" are especially troublesome. However, it is easier to identify elements in provincial culture as being of local origin and resistant to Romanisation than it is to assess how far such survivals indicate conscious opposition to Rome and genuine nationalist feeling. Much depended on the attitude of the Romans themselves toward native culture, and in general this tended to be tolerant. Native, non-Roman cults and language were something to be left alone, not (with a few exceptions) eradicated or ironed into uniformity. True, the Romans were less willing to absorb as citizens peoples whom they felt to be foreign than they were those who were more easily assimilated and Romanised.⁴⁶ In general they preferred to extend citizenship followed in due course by the full de facto equality which consisted of access to high office to peoples who were able and willing to Romanise themselves. In practice these were the peoples of the west, who were less civilised and for that reason offered less resistance to the higher culture of Rome.

⁴² H. Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt* (Berlin 1938).

⁴³ See above, n. 30.

⁴⁴ W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford 1952); see the criticism of Peter Brown, "Christianity and Local Culture in Late Roman Africa," *JRS* (1968) 85-95.

⁴⁵ P. Lambrechts, *De geestelijke Weerstand van de westelijke provincies tegen Rome* (Brussels 1966).

⁴⁶ A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford 1939) 116-117, argues that the cities of north Etruria provide an example of this reluctance; but against the view that the Romans had only one *foedus* with an Etruscan city — Falerii — see now W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971) 85-113.

The Romans of course had the normal share of suspicion of foreign peoples; but it is rarely based on a sense of their racial inferiority. When they speak contemptuously of the peoples of northern Europe and the western Mediterranean lands, it is their cultural backwardness rather than anything specifically racial which they are decrying. This lower cultural level makes them ready to endure what would be intolerable for a Roman. "Omnes nationes," declares Cicero,⁴⁷ "servitutum ferre possunt: nostra civitas non potest" — slavery is something tolerable to all *nationes*, but not to our state. The Gauls, he observes in the *Pro Fonteio*,⁴⁸ have no respect for oaths; they make war on all religions, they once set out to sack Delphi and they besieged the Capitol; even to this day they maintain the foul practice of human sacrifice. They are *immanes et barbarae nationes*, he tells Quintus,⁴⁹ like the Africans and the Spaniards. Their savagery is partly the result of the harsh surroundings in which they live; as Livy remarks⁵⁰ of the Raeti, whom he believes to be sprung from Etruscan origins, "the very region has rendered them savage so that they retain nothing of their ancient manners except the sound of their language — and even that is corrupt."

This kind of criticism has mixed origins and is not all to be taken at its face value. There was a tradition going back to the Greeks for describing foreign and barbarous peoples.⁵¹ In particular the notion that national characteristics are shaped by the kind of country and climate in which one lives is an old Greek theory⁵² which first appears in Hippocrates' famous work, *On Climates, Waters, and Places*, which attributed variations in national character and temperament to differences in climate. This doctrine, which was to exercise a widespread influence right down to modern times (when both Buckle in England and Montesquieu in France expound doctrines closely allied to it), found an important champion in Aristotle, who in the seventh book of the *Politics* distinguished three groups:⁵³ the peoples who live in cold

⁴⁷ Cic. *Phil.* 10.20.

⁴⁸ Cic. *Font.* 30.

⁴⁹ Cic. *QFr.* 1.1.28-29.

⁵⁰ Livy, 5.33.

⁵¹ See K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griech.-röm. Ethnographie* (Basel 1918) 126ff.; A. Dihle, "Zur hellenistischen Ethnographie" in *Grecs et Barbares* (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, 8) Geneva 1962, 207-239.

⁵² See F. W. Walbank, *ClMed* (1947) 179ff.; R. Pöhlmann, *Hellenische Anschauungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen Natur und Geschichte* (Leipzig 1889) 12ff. There is a good example in Poseidonius fr. 76 van Straaten, dealing with Athens.

⁵³ Arist. *Pol.* 7.1327b 19; cf. Gelzer, *Kl. Schr.* III (Wiesbaden 1964) 4-5.

regions and in Europe and are in consequence extremely courageous but lacking in intelligence and artistic skill — which results in their being free but without the *polis*, and incapable of ruling others; secondly the Asians, who are artistic and intelligent, but cowardly, and therefore slaves; and thirdly the nation of the Greeks, τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος, which lies between and therefore shares the good characteristics of both, uniting courage with intelligence, mostly living in *poleis*, and capable of ruling over everyone — if only, he adds, they could unite under a single constitution, μᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας! This climatic notion clearly influenced the popular view of the eastern peoples as well as the northern; the unfortunate *publicani* of Asia, exclaims Cicero⁵⁴ with indignation, have been handed over by Gabinius *in servitutem Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti*, peoples born to be slaves. And very much later we find Socrates in his *Historia ecclesiastica*⁵⁵ explaining that the austerity of the Phrygians and Paphlagonians (members of the Novatian church) is the result of the climate; they live in the zone between the Scythians and the Thracians, who are inclined to violent passions, and the peoples of the east who are the victims of their own appetites, and that is why they have no interest in horse-racing and the theatre, and regard fornication with horror.⁵⁶

These traditional modes of thought are obviously not without their influence at Rome. On the other hand, one should not attribute too much to any formal theory. There is clearly a popular element in this stigmatising of national characteristics which is to be found in all peoples at all times: a national image of one's neighbour and enemy — often identical — is created, and belief in it becomes something like an article of faith. And where peoples live in close conjunction, as the Romans increasingly did as they administered or emigrated to their empire, prejudice and irritation play their part in heightening the colours. The same thing had happened earlier. From Ptolemaic Egypt we have evidence of racial friction; in the Zenon papyri⁵⁷ an Egyptian complains of victimisation because he cannot play the Greek — Ἑλληνίζειν; and another document records the complaint of a priest that the cleruch billeted on him despises him because he is an Egyptian. At this time the Greeks are the dominant people in Egypt. But a hundred years later the situation is reversed, for now a *katochos* of the Sarapeum at Memphis complains that he is persecuted by the Egyptians

⁵⁴ Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 10.

⁵⁵ Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.28.

⁵⁶ On this, see A. H. M. Jones, *JThS* (1959) 297–298.

⁵⁷ *P. Col. Zen.* 2.66.

because he is a Greek.⁵⁸ Such instances of racial prejudice arise naturally where two peoples share a single country and⁵⁹ can easily be paralleled in many places today; they are quite understandable without any pseudo-scientific theory of national characteristics.

Frequently, too, the Roman picture was coloured by long years of bitter fighting. The phrase *Gallicus tumultus* could still produce a shudder in the Roman hearer centuries after the Gauls had ceased to threaten anyone in Italy, and a reference to the suspension of army leave on the occasion of the a *tumultus Italicus Gallicusve* appears in the charter of the Caesarian *colonia Genetiva Julia* in Spain.⁶⁰ But there is another aspect of the evidence which deserves attention, the influence of rhetoric. Many of the examples I have quoted have been from Cicero; and one may recall Quintilian's remark about him:⁶¹ "Where *nationes* are concerned, Cicero employs a flexible procedure: when he is about to deny any credibility to Greek witnesses, he concedes them their science and literature, and claims to be a lover of their race, while damning the Sardinians and inveighing against the Allobroges as if they were avowed enemies." Clearly Cicero could not get away with saying anything that would sound completely paradoxical; but his testimony (and much of a similar character) is to be taken *cum grano salis*, because it is subordinated to the rhetorical exigencies of the moment.

There is one thing common to these Roman references to people of foreign nationalities, they never make that rigid differentiation which the Greeks of the classical period made between themselves and the barbarians. Indeed, this distinction meant so little to the Romans originally that they were even prepared to accept the Greek valuation and count themselves barbarians. In Plautus' *Captivi*⁶² the cities and laws of Italy are *barbarae urbes*, *barbarica lex*; in the *Miles*⁶³ Naevius is a *barbarus poeta*; and in the *Mostellaria*⁶⁴ there is talk of a "porridge-eating barbarian workman," (*pultiphagus opifex . . . barbarus*). But as Hellenic customs and values became more widespread with the growth of Hellenisation in Italy, the Romans came to resent this appellation:

⁵⁸ See W. Peremans, "Egyptiens et étrangers dans l'Égypte," in *Grecs et Barbares* (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, 8), Geneva, 1962, 121-166.

⁵⁹ On Greeks and Orientals in the Seleucid kingdom see D. Musti, *Studi classici e orientali*, 1966, 136-137.

⁶⁰ Dessau, *ILS*, 6087, ch. lxii, line 31.

⁶¹ Quint. 11.1.89.

⁶² Plaut. *Capt.* 884 and 492.

⁶³ Plaut. *Miles*, 211.

⁶⁴ Plaut. *Mostell.* 828.

Cato somewhat dyspeptically complained⁶⁵ that "nos quoque dictitant barbaros," and Lucilius⁶⁶ reserved the unseemly name for the enemies of Rome: "bello vinci a barbaro Viriato Annibale." The problem of how the Romans fitted into the old categories of Greeks and barbarians continued, however, to be troublesome.⁶⁷ *Barbarus*, which had begun as a purely onomatopoeic word to describe the incomprehensible noises made by the foreigner, had acquired, especially since the days of the Persian Wars, when Greek national feeling perhaps came nearest to meaning something real, a tone of contempt; and Greek emotion was whipped up in the panhellenic rhetoric of Gorgias, Lysias, and Isocrates. Clearly the Romans were not barbarians (though Greeks might so describe them either thoughtlessly or with intent to hurt);⁶⁸ when Ovid at Tomi laments⁶⁹ that he is now literally the barbarian, this is meant as an outrageous paradox:

barbarus hic ego sum qui non intelligor ulli
et rident stolidi verba Latina Geti.

But they were not Greeks either — for when Heracleides Ponticus,⁷⁰ in describing the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390, had used the term πόλις 'Ελληνίς of Rome, this was merely evidence of that writer's ignorance or irresponsibility. Indeed, the Romans would not have thanked anyone for such a description. From the time of their earliest contacts with Greeks, they had had an ambivalent attitude toward them. On the one hand, the achievements of classical and Hellenistic Greece from Homer onwards entitled her to genuine respect; and it was of course to Greece that the Romans turned for their earliest lessons in all branches of art and literature. Moreover, cultured Romans like Flamininus and Scipio appreciated recognition on equal terms by the Greeks whom they had "liberated." But at the same time the undisciplined political life of cities like Tarentum or Corinth,⁷¹ and the slippery character of individual Greeks who had gained nothing from deracination and perhaps a spell of slavery thrown in, led old-fashioned

⁶⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 29.7.14.

⁶⁶ Lucil. *Sat.* 615 Marx.

⁶⁷ Cf. K. Christ "Römer und Barbaren in der hohen Kaiserzeit," *Saeculum* (1959) 273-288; A. J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy* (London 1965) II 435ff.

⁶⁸ Cf. Polyb. 18.22.5; see H. H. Schmitt, *Hellenen, Römer und Barbaren* (Progr. Aschaffenburg 1957/8).

⁶⁹ Ovid *Trist.* 5.10.37-38.

⁷⁰ Plut. *Cam.* 22.2.

⁷¹ Cf. Dion. Hal. 19.5, cf. 6.3; Livy *Epit.* 12; Val. Max. 2.2.5; App. *Sam.* 7.2 (Tarentum); Paus. 7.14.1-3, cf. Polyb. 38.9.1 and 6 (Corinth).

Romans from Cato to Juvenal to despise the *Graeculus esuriens*.⁷² Cato saw corruption as the fruit of Greek learning and even alleged that Greek doctors were in league to poison their honest Roman patients:⁷³ when Carneades shocked the Romans by his amoral defence of self-interest in politics, Cato was the first to urge that he be sent quickly about his business.⁷⁴ And so, eventually, the Romans had to reconcile themselves to being neither the one thing nor the other; and when in the *de finibus*⁷⁵ Cicero wants to say that Epicurean influence has been widely felt throughout the whole known world, the terms he employs to make that point are *Graecia*, *Italia*, and *barbaria* — a formula which, incidentally, illustrates very clearly the incorporation of Italy in Rome from the Social Wars onward.

IV

This assimilation of Italy is in fact the pattern for what later happens all over the empire. Usually the granting of *civitas* and Latin rights is the recognition of Romanisation already achieved; and this goes steadily ahead, eroding national distinctions. Everywhere the number of *cives Romani* grows, despite caution on the part of conservative emperors like Augustus himself, and despite Roman prejudice against barbarous Gauls or decadent Greeks and Syrians. The double process, the extension of Roman power and Romanisation and the rewarding of its attainment by grants of citizenship, did not, however, go unopposed by subject peoples, who could not always appreciate the value of a *pax Romana* which took away their freedom. The extent and depth of this resistance is not always easily assessed, nor how far it is national in inspiration. Imperial expansion always meets resistance. Melos rejected the demands of Athens and was destroyed; Rhodes successfully resisted Demetrius Poliorcetes. But this did not make either Rhodes or Melos a nation. Perhaps resistance can fairly be called national when it is inspired by conscious opposition to values and customs because they are Roman and tries deliberately to revive those of a native culture. Such resistance need not be military: it can be a cultural movement with a national base, like Welsh or Scottish nationalism today. Fuchs has assembled⁷⁶ sufficient evidence from the eastern parts of the Roman

⁷² Juv. 3.60–80.

⁷³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 29.14.

⁷⁴ Plut. *Cat. mai.* 22.5.

⁷⁵ Cic. *Fin.* 2.49; cf. Christ, *Saeculum* (above, n. 67).

⁷⁶ Above, n. 42.

empire over a period lasting from the early second century B.C. down to the later empire to show that there were always Greeks, Syrians, and Egyptians ready to inveigh against Roman ways. An outstanding example is Lucian's *Nigrinus*, which contrasts the delights of Athens, absorbed in Platonic philosophy, with the absurdities and Philistinism of contemporary life at Rome;⁷⁷ and in the previous century wandering philosophers like Dio Chrysostom⁷⁸ and Apollonius of Tyana⁷⁹ preached the values of Greek culture and warned their listeners against too much Romanisation. In the fourth century we find Libanius voicing his alarm when Greek youths go off to Berytus to learn Latin and study Roman law.⁸⁰ But, above all, Egypt — the province which Seneca describes as *in contumelias praefectorum ingeniosa*⁸¹ — “with a genius for insulting its governors,” provides examples in the acts of the Alexandrine martyrs of a whole series of no doubt largely imaginary insults hurled at Roman magistrates and emperors by Alexandrian envoys.⁸² Quite recently, Lambrechts⁸³ has tried to show that there was similar resistance to Rome in the west, pointing to the survival of the native Celtic tongue down to the fourth century and even beyond, and more particularly analysing the evidence for the continued practice of native religions — of the *Matres*, or *Matronae*, in Roman Germany, and of *Epona* and the Celtic versions of Mars, Mercury and Hercules in Celtic areas — and the appearance in the last centuries of the western empire of Celto-Roman temples, for instance, at Autun and Périgueux and at many places in Britain on sites important in pre-Roman times such as Maiden Castle.⁸⁴

Now this evidence — it is set out in full in Lambrechts' and Fuch's essays — is certainly proof of the persistence of native cultures. But to take the western area first, Lambrechts himself shows that what he has described is a cultural resistance to Rome without any corresponding political hostility. The fact, underlined by him, that many of the dedications to native gods are made by Roman officials, that in Britain the worship of Mars Ocelus, dea Brigantia, and deus Antenociticus is

⁷⁷ Lucian, *Nigr.* 12ff.

⁷⁸ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32.69, 95; 34.38ff; 38.36ff. Cf. Fuchs (above, n. 42) 50.

⁷⁹ Apoll. *Epist.* 63, 70; cf. Philostr. 4.27; Ed. Meyer in *Kl. Schr.* II (Halle 1924) 133ff, 148ff, 159ff, 171ff; Fuchs (above, n. 42) 50.

⁸⁰ Libanius *Or.* 1.214, 234; 2.43f; 43.3ff; 48.22ff; *Epist.* 951, 1011; Fuchs (above, n. 42) 51.

⁸¹ Sen. *Helv.* 69.6.

⁸² Ed. Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* II 175ff.

⁸³ See above, n. 45.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-15, 21.

linked with imperial cult⁸⁵ — for example, the altar set up in Cumberland to *dea nymp̄ha Brigantia* by M. Cocceius Nigrinus, a *procurator Augusti*, “pro salute et incolumitate domini nostri invicti imperatoris M. Aureli Severi Antonini Pii Felicis Augusti totiusque domus divinae”⁸⁶ — that even emperors worship the local gods, for example, Diocletian and Maximian making a dedication on an inscription from Aquileia to Belenus,⁸⁷ a Celtic form of Apollo — all this goes to show that the movement had the full support of Roman authority and was indeed a development of traditional practice, which encouraged diversity and the survival of what was rooted in the native soil.

In the east it is different. One can hardly disguise the anti-Roman character of much of the evidence. But here too one must be chary of reading too much into some of it. Whether, as has been suggested,⁸⁸ Lucian drew on Juvenal for his *Nigrinus*, is not clear; certainly his account of the horrors of life in Rome is bound to recall the famous third satire. But it would of course be as wrong to regard Juvenal as unpatriotic for what he writes there as it would be to take Johnson’s *London* as evidence that its author was anything other than a good loyal Tory. Rome could be attacked as well on moral as on nationalist grounds — and was so attacked by Tacitus,⁸⁹ Lucan,⁹⁰ and the author of the *Commentariolum petitionis*.⁹¹ Verbal battles were one way of keeping up one’s morale in a world where Rome was undisputed mistress and her government autocratic. The Christians are of course another matter. When Hippolytus, bishop of Rome under Elagabalus (or Commodus),⁹² prophesies in his *Commentary on Daniel*⁹³ that Rome will fall with the rise of democracies among the nations, κατὰ ἔθνη, and that ten kings will partition the Roman empire according to them, he is drawing on ancient traditions, some of them going back to the Sibylline oracles, which flourished from the second century B.C. onwards. But his purpose is religious, not nationalist; he attacks the Roman empire because he believes it to be a Satanic counterfeit of true

⁸⁵ Ibid., 15; cf. Collingwood-Wright, *RIB* 1327, 1328 (Deus Antenociticus) 623, 627, 2066 (dea Brigantia).

⁸⁶ *CIL* VII.875 = *RIB* 2066.

⁸⁷ *ILS* 625.

⁸⁸ So Mesk, *Wien. Stud.* 34 (1912) 373ff; 35 (1913) 1ff; criticised by Fuchs (above, n. 42) 52 n. 64.

⁸⁹ *Tac. Ann.* 15.44.

⁹⁰ Lucan, 7.405.

⁹¹ *Auct. Comm. pet.* 54; cf. Fuchs (above, n. 42) 54 n. 66.

⁹² See S. Mazzarino, *End of the Ancient World* (London 1966) 39–40, 113.

⁹³ Hippolytus, in *Dan.* 2.7, 12; 4.13; cf. Mazzarino (above, n. 92) 48.

Christian unity. Since the Christians generally preached the early coming of the end of the world and so of the Roman Empire, it is natural that their prophecies should have taken on an anti-Roman shape and utilised many old rhetorical clichés to underline their lesson; and that when the Roman state showed its hostility, the Christians should have retaliated by drawing on the vast anti-Roman literature of the Near East. But the Christians' victory under Constantine, which was to change the nature of the empire, was not of course a victory for nationalism; it was a victory for a religion which refused to compromise and gained strength from its martyrdoms. No purely nationalist movement under the Roman empire showed a similar vitality.

V

The success of Rome in imposing acceptance of her rule over so vast an area and in assimilating so many different peoples and cultures was achieved partly by crude violence, *debellare superbos*, partly through understanding once the issue was decided, *parcere subiectis*, and partly through the ingenious use of her elastic citizenship to unify and win over the ambitious to Roman ways. Although the *pax Romana* rarely meant a world at peace, and indeed after the second century became little more than an empty aspiration, there are very few wars throughout the history of the empire which even superficially look like nationalist risings. I can only touch quite cursorily on this subject here; it is perhaps worth looking briefly at the Roman experience in three areas — Gaul, the Near East, and North Africa.

The Gauls had been put down by force of arms and terrorism under Julius Caesar, but already by 12 B.C. a generation had passed since the fighting ceased and the great altar at Lugdunum and the *concilium Galliarum* were evidence of effective pacification and the adherence of the upper classes.⁹⁴ The revolts under Tiberius were small, short-lived, and insignificant, and sprang mainly from the personal difficulties of their leaders, Florus and Sacrovir, who were weighed down by debt; sixty out of sixty-four tribes ignored the movement.⁹⁵ That there was still some residual national feeling among the Aedui seems probable, however, from the fact that when in A.D. 69 the Boian Mariccus raised a

⁹⁴ Dio. Cass. 54.32.1; Livy *Epit.* 139. For the year 12 B.C., see Hirschfeld on *CIL* XIII 1.227; Larsen, *Representative Government* 224 n. 6; Suet. *Claud.* 2 makes it 10 B.C. On the peaceful character of Gaul see the emperor Claudius in *ILS* 212 lines 34-36.

⁹⁵ Cf. Sherwin-White (above, n. 46) 251-252.

revolt as *adsertor Galliarum et deus*,⁹⁶ a divine liberator of Gaul, he carried several Aeduan cantons with him. But the more serious revolt the same year, based mainly among the Treviri and the Lingones, was a mixed affair.⁹⁷ Intertribal jealousies kept most of Gaul loyal; indeed the fact that the tribes in revolt had earlier supported Verginius Rufus⁹⁸ against Vindex deterred the rest of the Gauls from having anything to do with them now. And though we hear of the Druids prophesying *vana superstitione*,⁹⁹ Julius Sabinus claimed descent from Caesar and took his name — hardly, one would have thought, an advantage in a strongly nationalist movement.

After this, Gaul seems settled and there is nothing like a nationalist rising until the *Galliarum imperium* in the mid-third century. This name for Postumus' empire appears only in Eutropius;¹⁰⁰ the *Historia Augusta*¹⁰¹ calls the Gallic emperors *adsertores Romani nominis*, a name significant in its contrast to the title given to Mariccus, *adsertor Galliarum*. Sherwin-White has shown, decisively, I think, that there is no sound evidence that Postumus and his successors were playing on nationalist feelings. Their coin-types¹⁰² all echo traditional legends such as *Aequitas Augusta*, *Aeternitas Augusta*, *Roma Aeterna*, *Fides* or *Concordia Militum*, and *Pax Augusta*; and of the series featuring Hercules, only two of the sixteen titles which the hero is given are local, and of these *Deusoniensis* is Germanic and refers to Köln-Deutz across the Rhine, while *Magusanus* is said by Camille Jullian¹⁰³ to be a Greco-Roman form of cult. Even granted that Hercules had special associations with Gaul, Postumus' use of his name on coins cannot then be construed as a mark of Gallic nationalist feeling; and indeed this Gallic empire seems better regarded as a local piece of self-help, intended to preserve the power and traditions of Rome in the west at a time when the central government was temporarily too weak to shoulder this burden.

When one turns to the east, some special features emerge. We have already examined briefly some of the anti-Roman ideas and traditions which circulated there, to be drawn upon in due course by the Christian

⁹⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 2.61.

⁹⁷ For a coin of this year personifying Gallia, see T. G. E. Powell, *The Celts* (London 1958) pl. 47d.

⁹⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 4.69.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.54.

¹⁰⁰ Eutrop. 9.9.3.

¹⁰¹ S. H. A. *Tyr. Trig.* 5.5 (vita Lolliani).

¹⁰² Cf. Sherwin-White (above, n. 46) 277-278.

¹⁰³ C. Jullian in *CRAI* (1896) 298ff; Sherwin-White (above, n. 102).

Church. But Palestine provides an example of a movement perhaps unique in the history of the empire. The excavations at Masada¹⁰⁴ and the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls¹⁰⁵ have recently aroused popular interest in the Jewish movement, in which the combination of social struggle and national resistance was charged with the powerful currents that are generated by fanaticism. The combination is not unique: to some extent, Druidism lent force to the resistance in Gaul and Britain. But I can recall no example in Roman history where Roman methods proved in the long run so unavailing as they did in the case of the Jews; and this seems to reflect the peculiar union of elements in the Jewish movement.

A similar combination of religion and nationalism has been identified by some scholars in the Donatist movement in North Africa, which made use of the native languages, Punic and Libyan, and has been accused of supporting native pretenders and even the Goths against the Roman government. Like the Jews, too, the Donatists had their fanatical wing in the wandering bands of *circumcelliones*. But here the likeness ends. A. H. M. Jones¹⁰⁶ has shown convincingly that there is no evidence for a North African national consciousness actuating the supporters of Donatist Christianity. His analysis is decisive for the view that the professors of the Donatist belief, both the more orthodox and the more fanatical, were moved almost solely by religious motives; and even if Frend¹⁰⁷ were right in suggesting that the form their religious beliefs took, in their fearful and gloomy character, their superstition, and their obsession with martyrdom owed much to the widespread worship of the Punic Baal Hamon, under the Roman name of Saturn, from which they were converted, this would not make the Donatist creed in any sense a nationalist movement.

VI

There is a passage in Aelius Aristides' famous panegyric on Rome, however,¹⁰⁸ which suggests that something like a nation had grown up — difficult though such an idea appears — in the empire as a whole. In

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Y. Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (London 1966); S. Applebaum, "The Zealots: the case for revaluation," *JRS* (1971), 155-170.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, R. de Vaux, *L'Archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (London 1961); but the literature is vast.

¹⁰⁶ *JThS* (1959) 240-298.

¹⁰⁷ *The Donatist Church* 75ff.

¹⁰⁸ *In Romam* 59.

one of his more memorable sections he remarks that the population of the empire is divided into two parts, "the better part of the world's talent, courage and leadership, whom the Romans have admitted to citizenship and even kinship, and the rest who form the subject element, ὑπήκοόν τε καὶ ἀρχόμενον." "The word Roman," he continues,¹⁰⁹ "you have caused to be the label not of membership in a city, but of some common nationality, γένους ὀνόμα κοινοῦ τινος, and this not just one among all, but one balancing all the rest." Instead of the old division of the world into Hellenes and Barbarians, the Romans have set up a new division into Romans and non-Romans.

This statement is at first striking. But it is almost certainly mere rhetoric. Aristides is echoing a famous passage of Isocrates' *Panegyricus*¹¹⁰ in which he said that the Athenians had made the name of Hellene synonymous with that of their own city; this was to restrict a nation to a city, and so the Romans in contrast must be shown to have expanded their city so as to convert it into a nation. There is no more to it than that; elsewhere Aelius Aristides normally uses the word *Romani* for all the inhabitants of the empire, citizens and *peregrini* alike. This is perhaps a sign of the success which the Romans had had in forging a supranational state. I have already suggested that the extension of Roman *civitas*, a force acting against nationalism, attracted first the upper classes and then ultimately (and less effectively) the rest of the population to Rome. The building of a supranational loyalty was an aim consciously pursued. Already in the first century, the Elder Pliny¹¹¹ spoke of substituting Latin for the wild and dissonant tongues of the various peoples, uniting the empires and imposing *humanitas* on all. It was perhaps recognition of some degree of success in achieving this end, among other reasons (many of them more important and more mundane), that led Caracalla to promulgate the *Constitutio Antoniniana*¹¹² granting Roman citizenship to all but an insignificant number of the inhabitants of the empire. By this action, of course, he substantially reduced the importance of *civitas*; and he also encouraged the revival of an old distinction. The fiction that the Roman Empire was to be identified with the whole world, the *orbis terrarum* — perhaps always something of an affectation — was rather easier when *civitas* was not coterminous everywhere with the frontiers. The pattern under the early empire had been one much more of shades and gradations, with inter-

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 63.

¹¹⁰ Isoc. *Paneg.* 56.

¹¹¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.39.

¹¹² Cf. Dio. Cass. 78.9-10; P. Giessen, 40 no. 1 = *FIRA*, I.88.

mediate zones;¹¹³ there were still barbarians to subdue within the frontiers and areas of Roman influence without. But now in the late empire the contrast between Romans and barbarians once again becomes more rigid: we hear more of *barbari* — partly no doubt because there were far more *barbari* around to hear of — but if they are to be found within the frontiers it is because they have been brought in or forced their way in. The old distinction, which, Aelius Aristides boasted, had been superseded by Rome, was now back in a new form and was to grow more important down to the end of the western empire. It created new loyalties; and how far the poorer citizens of the provinces shared these is a matter of guess-work. In a full discussion of the available evidence Jones¹¹⁴ discounts the more sensational tales of collaboration put out by Orosius and Salvian, but concludes that in general the peasantry were apathetic and docile. “The Roman Empire,” he adds, “seems never to have evoked any active patriotism from the vast majority of its citizens.”¹¹⁵ This apathy may also help to explain why nationalism failed to develop into a movement of consequence within the Roman Empire. Differences of race, language, religion, and custom all counted then as they have always counted; and innate conservatism defended them in many areas, often with the willing consent of the ruling power. But these differences usually fell short of inspiring militant nationalism, and for this I see two main reasons. First, the well-tried Roman device, originally used to good effect on the plebeians within the Roman state, of rewarding conformism and right thinking with political recognition and ultimate equality — equality, that is, in the holding of office and even the imperial throne; this accounted for the upper classes and the more ambitious sections within the peoples the Romans had to deal with. Secondly, the great care taken never to allow anything like Greek or modern democracy to flourish meant that the poor saw nothing in their national differences important enough to be worth fighting about. Toynbee has observed that it is the combination of nationalism with democracy that has made it such a formidable force in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because Rome offered the upper classes too much and the rest too little, nationalism remained undeveloped as a political force. In some places like Gaul it withered and died; and once any people had been conquered, it was rare for their resentment to flower into revolt. Judaea, as we saw, was the exception,

¹¹³ Christ in *Saeculum* (above, n. 67) 283–284.

¹¹⁴ *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1964) III 1059ff.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1062.

and there nationalism became a dynamic force only through the inspiration of religion.

Nationalism, then, was to play only a small role in Roman history. There was a moment when the unification of Italy seemed likely to create an Italian nation. But because the *civitas* remained Rome, not Italy, Rome advanced from the city-state to the world-empire. To share the same *gens, natio, lingua* — this, Cicero saw, was a close bond: but the bond of *civitas* was closer. *Civitas* in his context meant the community of the city-state, where fellow-citizens shared the same social life. It was the achievement of the Romans to develop and extend the political aspect of that *civitas* and the binding-forces and emotions inherent in it, until eventually it coincided with the length and breadth of the empire. In the modern world we are disposed to restrict *civitas* and subordinate it to the concept of nationality with which it is so closely linked. One is not called upon to say which is the better way; but certainly to recognise the difference is to be made aware of one of the great gulfs that lie between the modern world and that of Rome.¹¹⁶

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¹¹⁶ A James Loeb lecture given at Harvard University on 12th November 1970.

READINGS IN EARLY LATIN

OTTO SKUTSCH

1. THE EPIGRAM ON PLAUTUS

THE epigram on Plautus, which Gellius 1.24.3 quotes from Varro's *de poetis* Book I, seems to be in need of a critical examination. I am not here concerned with the date and origin of the epigram, although I must mention that Varronian authorship, which H. Dahlmann (*Studien zu Varro "De poetis,"* Akad. Mainz [1962] 617ff) does not wish to rule out, seems to me most improbable. I am concerned merely with what the author says or tries to say.

Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, comoedia luget,
scaena est deserta, dein risus, ludus iocusque
et numeri innumeri simul omnes collacrimarunt.

The oxymora of *mortem aptus* (since *apiscor* normally has a desirable object), *comoedia luget*, *numeri innumeri*, and (on the reading as given above) *risus . . . collacrimarunt* are immediately obvious. Perhaps yet another oxymoron is to be found in *scaena est deserta*, since *scaena* as a place in everybody's eye and, in the sense of theatre, as a place where crowds assemble, is not infrequently contrasted with solitude. However that may be, what is the meaning of *dein*? Dahlmann, l.c.648, paraphrases: "dahin sind Scherz, Spiel, Lachen," and some such sense might indeed be expected; but it cannot be found in *dein*. Nor can *dein* be temporal, since part of the consequence of the poet's death has already been stated. In short, *dein* is somewhat suspect, and not only from the sense but also from the point of view of prosody. A. E. Housman, *CQ* 21 (1927) 11, castigating the facile assumption of a lengthened final vowel, in this instance admits that the poet may have imitated Ennius' *aquilă* in *desertă*, but adds: "*deserta scaena est* would be easy enough." Easier still, however, is the assumption that both prosody and sense have suffered from the intrusion of a wrong monosyllable in *dein*. One look at *comoedia luget* tells us that the author wrote: *flent risus*.¹ I would take

¹ For the lengthening of a short open final by initial mute and liquid see A. E. Housman, *CQ* 21 (1927) 3f.

risus to be plural, with the Lucilian tag (111) *ludus iocusque* in explanatory apposition. Thus, with *risus*, *ludus iocusque* having their own verb, the true meaning of the last line reveals itself: "and the rhythms lost their rhythms and burst into tears all at the same time." Thus *simul omnes* makes a better point (*numero non seruato*) than if it were referred to *risus* etc. as well; the endless controversy about the meaning of *numeri innumeri* is decided, *numeri innumeri* becoming an oxymoron not only in form but, like all the others, in sense; and the style is immeasurably improved: instead of a lame long sentence beginning with a feeble *dein*, we have two sentences, the first opening with the punching oxymoron, and the verb at the end of the second answering the verb at the beginning of the first.

2. VARRO *Men.* 45 AND THE REDUNDANT NEGATIVE WITH *negare*

Hofmann-Szantyr p. 805 adduces three examples of the redundant negative with *negare*. One is Gell. 16.2.10 *nam si non habere se negauerit quod non perdidit, colligetur oculos eum non habere, quos non perdidit. si uero habere se dixerit, colligetur habere eum cornua, quae non perdidit*. Only a very superficial reading can accept this example as correct. We have here a *captiuncula*, in which every word must stand up to scrutiny, and all the stress is on the contrast of *habere* and *non habere*. It is inconceivable that Gellius, here of all places, should have used careless language and obscured the point by a redundant *non*. Gruppe and Hosius were clearly right in deleting *non* after *si*, and it is a pity that Peter Marshall in his excellent Oxford text should have refused to follow them.

Another example is Hier. *tract. in psalm.* 1.1 p. 2.24 M: *quia qui negat se peccatum non fecisse mentitur*. Here the latest editors, *Corp. Christ.*, ser. lat. 78, p. 4, rightly comment: "*graeca locutio ἀρνούμαι μή . . .*". It is true that the Greek original, *Ep. Ioh.* 1.8, has *ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν*, but the Grecism is nevertheless to be recognized as such.

We now come to the earliest and most important example, which is explicitly attested by Nonius 530 M: *negatiuas duas negatiuam significantiam non habere, Varro Bimarco*:

τρόπων τρόπους qui non modo ignorasse me
clamat, sed omnino omnes heroas negat
nescisse.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say more than that Varro obviously did not

write *nescisse* but *me scisse*.² We may add, however, that the antithesis of *clamat* and *negat* is pointed by the position of the verbs at the beginning and at the end of the line, and that the negative sense of *negat* is therefore not likely to have been forgotten. Whether Nonius, a notorious bungler, himself misread his text or was deceived by an earlier misreading can hardly be decided.

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² I am grateful to Mr. E. Courtney and Professor H. Dahlmann for confirming my suspicion that, however obvious, this correction was in fact never proposed.

CICERO AND THE SCIPIONIC CIRCLE*

J. E. G. ZETZEL

THE idea of the "circle" is a seductive one: to be able to group great men of any age together, as friends, to find a historical foundation on which to base a study of their influences, is too attractive to be ignored. Often, however, the attractiveness is more powerful than the evidence; this has been shown recently, in ancient history, by studies of the "circles" of Julia Domna and of Symmachus.¹ The same may be done for the most famous of all, the Circle of Scipio.

In the nineteenth century, the existence of the Scipionic Circle was inferred from the settings of the *De Republica* and the *De Amicitia*, as well as a few other minor references,² and since then few historians have stopped to consider whether or not the evidence supports the far-reaching conclusions often drawn from it. It is only too easy to assume that the two dialogues employing that setting are historical documents, and to forget that, for Cicero, the choice of speakers and background for his dialogues was a matter of literary artifice, not of historical reconstruction. To start by asking how Cicero viewed the Scipionic Circle is misleading: one should rather question whether or not the dialogues give any good reason to believe in its existence. Recently, some starts have been made in this direction; Strasburger, for instance, sees in Cicero's Scipionic Circle an idealized portrait based on the "Circle of Crassus" of Cicero's youth.³ This solution only creates one problem in place of another. In fact, we must look again at the two dialogues them-

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¹ Julia Domna: G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) 101-109; Symmachus: Alan Cameron, "The Date and Identity of Macrobius," *JRS* 56 (1966) 33-38.

² By Bernhardt, *Grundriss der Römischen Literatur*² (Halle 1850) 191ff, according to R. M. Brown, "A Study of the Scipionic Circle," *Iowa Studies in Classical Philology* 1 (1934) 16f. The most important of the lesser references is *De Or.* 2.154.

³ H. Strasburger, "Poseidonios on Problems of the Roman Empire," *JRS* 55 (1965) 41f, 52f, and "Der Scipionenkreis," *Hermes* 94 (1966) 60-72.

selves to see how much historical evidence they actually give us. By doing this, and by examining the *De Republica* and the *De Amicitia* separately, we may gain useful insights, if not into second-century history, at least into the composition of the two dialogues.

It is necessary first to dispose of the idea that Cicero must have believed in either the political or the cultural existence of the Circle. If we examine it from the political point of view, we must take only the interlocutors of the *De Republica* as the basis for the reconstruction of any political faction. Not only are they the only group portrayed, they are the only political figures mentioned as being friends in the surviving portion of the dialogue, with the single exception of the elder Cato. Of the nine speakers, two — Scaevola and Fannius — are there in their capacity as Laelius' sons-in-law; another two, Tubero and Rutilius, are suggested by one of Cicero's letters dealing with the composition of the dialogue (*Att.* 4.16.2) to have been added more as ornamental listeners than as part of any political gathering. As for the five senior statesmen, Scipio and Laelius of course represent the core of the faction, if it existed, with Philus as a close third;⁴ but even among these five there is nothing in the *De Republica* to suggest that Cicero viewed them as a political group. The preface to the *De Republica* gives no real political setting, except to refer to the participants as *familiarissimi* of Scipio (1.14); on the other hand, Cicero does suggest that he chose the members of the group because of their individual renown: "*sed unius aetatis clarissimorum ac sapientissimorum nostrae ciuitatis uirorum disputatio repetenda memoria est . . .*" (1.13). By contrast, the opening of the *De Oratore*, a work on a nominally far less political subject, shows clearly that the group in that work did have some political overtones. Cicero tells us that the opening conversation was on political strategy for the current crisis, and that the dialogue which followed was by way of relaxation after business (1.24-27). There is no such business in the *De Republica*.

The case of the *De Oratore*, moreover, is very instructive as a parallel. Recent studies have attempted to see the speakers as a political group, for which, as we have just seen, there is admittedly more justification than in the case of the *De Republica*.⁵ But even here it is very dubious.

⁴ *De Or.* 2.154; cf. A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford 1967) 81f; F. Münzer, *RE* 7 (1910) 360.

⁵ Especially E. Gruen, "Political Prosecutions in the 90's BC" *Historia* 15 (1966) 32-64, esp. 40, 47, and *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968) 116-117, and elsewhere. Gruen (*Roman Politics* 17n.) also accepts the historicity of the Scipionic Circle.

The five speakers present in the first book must be seen as the basic political group. Crassus and Antonius are the leaders of the discussion; Sulpicius and Cotta, the young listeners of this work, are their pupils. The fifth member of the group is the old augur Scaevola, who is not there for any political purpose. Cicero himself admitted in a letter to Atticus that Scaevola's presence was intended to be similar to that of Cephalus in the first book of Plato's *Republic* (*Att.* 4.16.3); he thought of Scaevola as an ornament to the dialogue, not as a political plotter. Again, in the second and third books of the *De Oratore*, Scaevola is not present, but Catulus and Caesar Strabo are. Here, too, the nonpolitical nature of their presence is underlined by Catulus' statement as an excuse for their unexpected arrival: "*hoc si tu cupidius factum existimas, Caesari attribues; si familiarius, utrique nostrum; nos quidem, nisi forte moleste interuenimus, uenisse delectat*" (2.14). This obviously refers to the political circumstances: Catulus realized that he was intruding on a very private conference.⁶ In sum, we may note that of this possible *factio* of seven members, Cicero only suggests political affiliation for four of them, and there is in fact only one overtly political statement made about any of them. That is Cicero's introduction of Antonius, who is described as "*homo et consiliorum in re publica socius et summa cum Crasso familiaritate coniunctus*" (1.24). We may thus see through comparison of the *De Oratore* and the *De Republica* that there are almost no grounds for assuming that Cicero was depicting a political faction in the *De Republica*.

Even if there is perhaps more reason for saying that Cicero believed in a political Circle of Scipio, it is the cultural side of the group that has always attracted more attention. And yet, there is far less objective evidence for its existence as a cultural force. Both Strasburger and Astin have shown that we should not believe in the Circle as a center of Hellenic diffusion, or in Scipio as a great and enlightened philhellene;⁷ but on the evidence of the Ciceronian dialogues, these questions should not even have arisen. Cicero's literary characterizations have for some time been recognized as having a tenuous relation to reality; we shall later return to the unrealistic portraits of the elder Cato and Laelius in the dialogues named for them.⁸ An even more obvious example is the case of the *Academica*. Even Cicero could not accept the setting of the work, which had pictured the noble boor

⁶ Not noticed by Gruen (above, n. 5) 116f.

⁷ Astin (above, n. 4) 294-306; Strasburger (above, n. 3).

⁸ Cf. R. E. Jones, "Cicero's Accuracy of Characterization in his Dialogues," *AJP* 60 (1939) 307-325.

Lucullus as a philosophically inclined gentleman; he forced himself to alter it. There is no reason at all to think, as some have, that all of the interlocutors in Ciceronian dialogues were serious philosophers. Cicero himself said of the *Academica*: “*primo fuit Catuli, Luculli, Hortensi; deinde, quia παρὰ τὸ πρέπον uidebatur, quod erat hominibus nota non illa quidem ἀπαιδευσία sed in his rebus ἀτρυψία, eosdem illos sermones ad Catonem Brutumque transtuli . . .*” (Att. 13.13.1). It is thus safe to say that Cicero found no necessity at all of being accurate in the intellectual portraits of his characters. In fact, all that he required was that the commonly known circumstances of their lives be applicable to the conversation that he had in mind: that they not be completely unliterary, and that they be compatible figures who lived at the same time.

This conclusion helps to explain why Cicero chose the same setting, more or less, for both the *De Republica* and the *De Amicitia*. Scipio was indeed a central figure of his time and, like Crassus in the *De Oratore*, died at an appropriate moment to fit Cicero’s dramatic designs; nor was he particularly inappropriate intellectually for expounding Cicero’s views. In the case of the *De Amicitia*, moreover, Scipio and Laelius were again an obvious choice: a famous pair of friends, and one which Cicero admired. In 62 he had written to the triumphant Pompey, offering to be Laelius to the other’s Scipio (*Fam.* 5.7.3). It is in a certain sense coincidental that Cicero appears to believe in a Scipionic Circle; in fact, its existence is due to the requirements of polite fiction.

Cicero’s historical settings were intended to be vehicles for the dialogues in which they are used, not independent entities. It is therefore only natural that there should be some differences between the circles of the *De Republica* and the *De Amicitia*. And this indeed is what appears, although one must always remember that the fragmentary state of the *De Republica* makes complete certainty impossible. To begin with, neither Panaetius nor Polybius is so much as mentioned in the *De Amicitia*; and yet these two men are generally supposed to be charter members of the group. In fact, if we set aside the interlocutors of the dialogues, and the elder Cato, all of whom are mentioned in both works, the only men mentioned as friends in the *De Republica* are the literary figures Panaetius (1.15, 34), Polybius (1.34, 2.27, 4.3), Plautus (4.11) and probably Lucilius (*Frag.* 1c, 3.9). On the other hand, Pacuius and Terence, the only literary figures among many politicians who appear as friends in the *De Amicitia* (24, 89), are mentioned only to introduce quotations from their works. Clearly there is not one Scipionic Circle, in which the conversations of the *De Republica* and the *De Amicitia* take place, but two different circles created by Cicero for the two works.

That of the *De Republica*, we may suggest, is learned and literary; that of the *De Amicitia* is far more political.

The explanation for this divergence is not far to seek: we must look to the historical background of the dialogues' composition to understand them. When viewed in this light, the *De Republica* is remarkably comprehensible; is there any wonder that a dialogue written between 55 and 51, in the period of growing turbulence before the Civil War, marked by the death of Crassus and the domination of Pompey at Rome, imagines a state under the control of enlightened aristocrats like Scipio? The situation in Rome at the time was so bad that Cicero told his brother that he was afraid to place the *De Republica* in a contemporary setting, with himself as the main speaker (*QFr.* 3.5.1); and yet, there is little in what remains of the dialogue to make him very nervous. The work, although vaguely based on Roman politics, rests largely on Greek philosophy, and is distinctly removed from the unpleasant contemporary scene. The Scipionic Circle as it is seen here is therefore primarily a cultural, Hellenic body.

Before examining the corresponding background of the *De Amicitia*, however, it is crucial, in view of the importance of the historical context, to fix its date as precisely as possible amid the confused events of 44. All too often, it is closely attached to the *De Senectute*, which it resembles closely in format. But the two were not written together and were probably not even conceived as twins: the *De Senectute* was listed in the preface to the second book of the *De Divinatione* as completed; it was therefore presumably completed before the Ides of March. Moreover, the *De Fato* is mentioned as forthcoming in that list (2.3), although not yet completed. The *De Amicitia* is not listed, which suggests that Cicero was not yet thinking about it. The difference in tone between the *De Senectute* and the *De Amicitia*, moreover, is rather striking, and suggests how wrong it is to group them. *Amicitia* is a far more potent topic than *senectus*, and certainly far more relevant to Roman public life.⁹ The portrayal of the two protagonists conforms to this: Cato appears, quite contrary to his known character, as a kindly old gentleman, whiling away his dotage on Greek and gardening.¹⁰ Laelius, however, never betrays in the *De Amicitia* the Hellenistic culture so often attributed to him elsewhere. This contradictory attitude was noticed by R. E. Jones some time ago; he attributed the

⁹ On *amicitia*, cf. J. Hellegouarc'h, *La Vocabulaire des relations et des partis politiques sous la république* (Paris 1963) 41-64, and P. Brunt, "'Amicitia' in the Late Roman Republic," *P.C.P.S.* 11 (1965) 1-20.

¹⁰ Cf. R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley 1964) 45.

change to criticism by readers of Cato's philosophizing, leading to Cicero's compensation in the second work.¹¹ In fact, this difference is more likely to be due to the difference of the subjects.

The only securely dated testimony to the composition of the *De Amicitia* is a *terminus ante quem* provided by Book II of the *De Officiis*, which refers to the *De Amicitia* as already finished (2.31). Moreover, the first two books of the *De Officiis* were finished early in November 44 (*Att.* 16.11.4). This fact robs us of the most commonly used evidence for dating the *De Amicitia*, the letter to Atticus of 11 November in which Cicero asked: "*Velim scribas quibus consulibus C. Fannius M.f. tribunus pl. fuerit, uideor mihi audisse P. Africano L. Mummius censoribus*" (*Att.* 16.13a.2). Since Fannius is one of the interlocutors of the *De Amicitia*, it has been generally assumed that the letter refers to the composition of that work.¹²

In order to dispose of this piece of "evidence" once and for all, let us note that it is doubly irrelevant, even aside from the chronology. In the first place, there is no reference in the *De Amicitia* to Africanus' censorship or to Fannius' tribunate; secondly, there is a reference, if not to Fannius, at least to the censorship of Africanus and Mummius, in the *De Officiis* (2.76). From the chronology and the context in the letter, it is likely that Cicero was simply curious about the censorship and about Fannius, and therefore inquired of Atticus, the great chronographer.

There is, in fact, a far more likely piece of evidence bearing on the date of the *De Amicitia* in an earlier letter: Cicero wrote in July that he was pleased to hear that Atticus was still enjoying the *De Senectute*, and said that it speeded up his own composing (*Att.* 16.13.1). It is clear that, if the *De Amicitia* had been completed then, Cicero or Atticus would have referred to it here; they do not, but the associated reference to writing suggests that Cicero was then composing the *De Amicitia*.

The *De Amicitia* was thus written neither before Caesar's assassination, when Cicero was still completely withdrawn from political interests, nor in November, when he had already actively returned to the political scene, and was finishing the Second Philippic. It belongs rather to the summer of 44, when Cicero was vacillating between his despondency over the incompetence of Brutus and Cassius, and his deep-seated hope that the Republic might return, and he could take the position of senior statesman which was rightly his. The *De Amicitia*

¹¹ Cf. Jones (above, n. 8) 315f.

¹² E.g. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey *ad loc.*

accurately reflects Cicero's mood: it is still a dialogue, and still set in the distant past. But the subject matter is far more contemporary than that of earlier works, and the manner in which it is discussed, and the relationships mentioned, make the Scipionic Circle as it appears here a much more political group than that of the *De Republica*. We are told by Gellius (1.3.10) that the *De Amicitia* was based on a work by Theophrastus, but it has been quite thoroughly Romanized along the way. Unlike the *De Republica*, the *De Amicitia* is concerned neither with Greek philosophy nor with Greek philosophers like Panaetius: it is a profoundly Roman work, and accurately reflects its historical context. It is the work of a senior statesman, cautiously emerging from a long retirement, and highly sensitive to the political atmosphere.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE AEDILESHIP OF FAVONIUS, CURIO THE YOUNGER AND CICERO'S ELECTION TO THE AUGURATE

JERZY LINDERSKI

IN his monumental work on the Magistrates of the Roman Republic, Professor T. R. S. Broughton records as the aediles in 52 B.C. Cato's famous *alter ego*, M. Favonius, and a M. Aufidius Lurco; the latter entry is queried, and, as the sources apparently do not permit it, no indication is given whether they held the plebeian or the curule aedileship.¹ But the exact date of Favonius' aedileship is also open to dispute, and thus a number of modern scholars assign his tenure of that office to 53² (and not 52³). Favonius' earlier career has recently been studied by Chr. Meier⁴ and L. R. Taylor;⁵ I propose now also to subject a later stage of his political activity to a closer scrutiny. The aedileship of Favonius appears to be associated in a rather odd way with the person of the younger C. Scribonius Curio. But Curio is also of importance for the dating of Cicero's election to the augurate: he links together Cicero's priesthood and Favonius' aedileship.

Only two sources mention Favonius' holding of the aedileship: Cassius Dio and Plutarch, in the Life of Cato Uticensis. Let us now discuss in turn these two testimonies.

¹ T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* 2 (New York 1952) 235 and 240 n. 2.

² G. Schubert, *De Romanorum aedilibus* (Regimonti 1828) 421; L. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer* 3² (Berlin 1876) 361; P. Willems, *Le Sénat de la république romaine* 1 (Louvain 1885) 491, 513; W. Drumann-P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms* 3 (Leipzig 1906) 34-35; 4 (1908) 319; J. Seidel, *Fasti aedilicii* (Diss. Breslau 1908) 70-71; F. Münzer, *RE* 6 (1909) 2075 s.v. Favonius 1; 2A (1921) 869 s.v. Scribonius 11. Until the publication of *MRR* this had been in fact the traditional date, going back to Pighius' *Annales Romanorum* 3 (Antverpiae 1615) 404-405.

³ The following now also opt for 52: Ch. Meier, *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich-Stuttgart 1965) 954; H. G. Gundel, *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967) 525.

⁴ "Zur Chronologie und Politik in Caesars erstem Konsulat," *Historia* 10 (1961) 96-98.

⁵ "The Office of Nasica Recorded in Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.1.9," in: *Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullman* (Roma 1964) 79-85. •

I. FAVONIUS AND POMPEIUS RUFUS: CASS. DIO 40.45.1-4

In 40.45.4 we read that Favonius, the aedile, was cast into prison "on some trifling charge" by Q. Pompeius Rufus, termed tribune in 40.45.2. The date of the tribunate of Pompeius Rufus is 52 B.C.: this date is established by Asconius (32-33, 37, 42, 49 C), and Cass. Dio also (40.49.1-2 and 55.1) assigns his tribunate unequivocally to that year. *Prima facie* this might also seem to establish beyond any reasonable doubt the date of the aedileship of Favonius as 52, and such was apparently the opinion of Broughton. He writes (*MRR* 2.240 n. 2): "Dio places Favonius' aedileship during the tribunate of Pompeius Rufus, which is dated in 52."

Let us, however, look more closely into the passage in question. Dio relates that Pompeius Rufus, although he was then serving as tribune, was put in jail by the senate, apparently for his part in the riots preceding the election of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messala to the consulship of 53, and that in revenge he later arrested Favonius. It is clear that in this passage Dio dates the tribunate of Pompeius Rufus in 53, when Calvinus and Messala were consuls, and not in 52, the year of Pompey's consulship. If Dio's narrative is treated as a separate whole, the following picture emerges: he really places the aedileship of Favonius during the tribunate of Pompeius Rufus, but a) according to the computation adopted by him in this passage the date of Rufus' tribunate was 53; and b) this would consequently also be his date for Favonius' aedileship. From the fact that Dio erred in respect to a), it does not necessarily follow that he must have been wrong also in respect to b).

It is a plausible suggestion that Pompeius Rufus was imprisoned by the senate as tribune designate in July (or August) 53, and that Dio, when dating his tribunate in 53, was confused by that circumstance.⁶ But Pompeius Rufus could arrest Favonius only as tribune: either in December 53, during the first days of his tribunate, or in 52. Accordingly the date of Favonius' aedileship would be 53 or 52. Until Broughton's *Magistrates* appeared, it had been in fact the predominant opinion that Pompeius Rufus arrested Favonius immediately upon

⁶ Cf. E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius*³ (Stuttgart und Berlin 1922) 209-210; G. Niccolini, *I fasti dei tribuni della plebe* (Milano 1934) 315. A. Clark (*M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro T. Annio Milone Oratio* [Oxford 1895] 132) argued that "the college of the tribunes to which Rufus and Plancus belonged came into office early in 53 B.C., going out at the corresponding time in 52." But this is only a curiosity.

entering office on 10 December 53.⁷ This opinion presents a compromise between the actual date of Rufus' tribunate and Dio's chronology in the passage under discussion. It may therefore be preferable to opt with Broughton for 52, but at the same time it ought to be made clear that on the basis of Dio's text alone neither solution can be definitely proved or disproved. It would be better to leave the whole controversy undecided. But perhaps Plutarch can provide more definite information.

II. FAVONIUS AND CURIO: PLUTARCH, CATO MINOR 46

Plutarch's account belongs virtually to the Cato-legend. At first he tells us the story of how Cato secured Favonius' election to the aedileship: when he discovered that the balloting tablets had been forged (they were all inscribed in one hand) he appealed to the tribunes of the plebs and succeeded in annulling the results of the voting. But even after Favonius had finally been elected aedile he did not stop helping him. The fable follows of Cato's arranging the spectacles in the theater on behalf of Favonius. These performances were marked by extreme austerity. At the same time, in another theater, Curio, the colleague of Favonius in the office (*Κουρίων ὁ Φαωνίου συνάρχων*) was giving lavish games. But the people, so Plutarch assures us, left him and went over to Cato and Favonius.

Plutarch seems to place the aedileship of Favonius after the riots and anarchy of late 54 and the first half of 53, but before the outbreak of violence in late 53 and early 52 caused by the fierce canvassing of Scipio Nasica, Plautius Hypsaesus, and Annius Milo for the consulship of 52. So, on the basis of Plutarch's chronology, we would have to date the aedileship of Favonius (and of Curio) in 53. However, if they held the curule aedileship,⁸ they could at the earliest have been elected at the end of July 53, or even later. The consular elections for 53 were not held until July or August 53,⁹ and the *comitia aedilicia* could take place

⁷ See Lange, *RA* 3². 362; Drumann-Groebe 3.35 n. 1; 4.319; Seidel 71; Münzer, *RE* 6.2075; Niccolini 317; Miltner, *RE* 21 (1952) 2252 (Miltner holds that Favonius, when he was arrested by Rufus, just "vom Tribunat abgetreten war": a typical inaccuracy of Miltner).

⁸ Niccolini 315. This was apparently also the opinion of Lange, *RA* 3². 360–361.

⁹ According to Dio 40.45.1, they took place in the seventh month of the year; according to Appian *B.C.* 2.71 the city was eight months without consuls. Dio's date is accepted by Niccolini 315 (with discussion) and Broughton, *MRR* 2.228.

only after the consuls had been chosen. But it is theoretically possible that Favonius¹⁰ (and Curio) were the plebeian aediles: in that case they would have been elected in 54 and would have served in 53 their full term of office.

Now, who is this Curio? It would seem, the notorious C. Scribonius Curio, tr. pl. (suff.) in 50. But here a difficulty arises.

Against the dating of Favonius' aedileship in 53 serious objections may be raised, all connected with the person of Curio. Broughton remarks that "Curio was absent from Rome in 53 and gave his games in honor of his father in 52." Broughton's conclusion is that "Curio was not then an Aedile but was preparing for his candidacy for the aedileship of 50."¹¹ These arguments invite discussion.

1. *Curio's absence from Rome in 53* would, of course, preclude any possibility of his being aedile in that year. In fact, we know that he was then in Asia, and although his title is not preserved, it is a reasonable conjecture that he served there in 54 (and perhaps in 53) as quaestor under C. Claudius Pulcher.¹² Nevertheless, many scholars have thought it possible to make him aedile in 53. The point is that we do not know exactly when Curio left Asia and returned to Rome. Cicero directed six letters to him in 53 (*Fam.* 2.1-6), but none of them is dated. However, all of these letters seem to have been written during the first half of 53 (1-3), or about the middle of the year (4-6).¹³ Especially interesting is the last letter in this series (*Fam.* 2.6), in which Cicero asks Curio to support Milo in his campaign for the consulship of 52. The opening words of this letter seem to show that Curio had at that time already

¹⁰ This was the opinion of Pighius, Willems, Seidel, and Münzer, cited above, n. 2. The position of Drumann-Groebe is not clear in this respect. As to Curio, see below, n. 14.

¹¹ *MRR* 2.240 n. 2.

¹² Münzer (*RE* 2A.868) and M. Büzl (*De provinciarum Romanarum quaestoribus*, Diss. Lips. [Chemnitii 1893] 42-43) think that he was quaestor in Asia in 54, but Münzer adds that he "verweilte dort noch 53 längere Zeit." According to Broughton (*MRR* 2.224 and 227 n. 4), he may have served in Asia in 54 and until late in 53 or early in 52. Cf. also *MRR* 2.614 (Index of careers) where he appears as "Q. ? 54 or 53, Proq. ? Asia ca. 52." In *MRR Suppl.* (1960) 55 he is termed quaestor and proquaestor in Asia, and his tenure of that office is dated in ca. 54-52. Two inscriptions from Caunus in Caria published by G. E. Bean (*JHS* 74 [1954] 89 nos. 23 and 24) may allude to him, but as he is named there without any title and no date is preserved, they are of little help to us. Bean holds that he was quaestor in 55-54; so also J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1956 no. 274 c (*REG* 69 [1956] 164).

¹³ Cf. R. Y. Tyrrell-L. C. Purser, *The Correspondance of M. Tullius Cicero* 2^a (Dublin 1906) nos. 166, 168, 169, 175, 176, 177; L.-A. Constans, *Cicéron, Correspondance* 3 (Paris 1950) nos. 164, 165, 166, 173, 174, 175.

left Asia and was expected in Rome. This would explain why Cicero was so anxious to gain his support for Milo's candidature.

Since Cicero's letters to Curio give no definite answer as to how long Curio remained in Asia and when he actually came back to Rome, the possibility cannot be excluded that he did, in fact, return in 53, perhaps still in time to be elected at the delayed elections to the curule aedileship of 53.¹⁴ But this is only a theoretical possibility: it can be positively established that he was not elected aedile in 53, or in any other year.

By chance we happen to know that Cicero was elected augur when Curio was still absent from Italy. But, as the exact date of Cicero's election is not recorded, this might seem to be of little avail for our argument. In fact, we know exactly neither when Curio returned to Rome, nor what the date of Favonius' aedileship was, nor when Cicero was elected to the augurate. However, if we link all these three issues closely together, a new and unexpected light might be shed on each of them. This problem calls for a separate discussion; see below, §IV.

2. *Curio's candidacy for the aedileship of 50.* In 51 Curio was chosen tribune of the plebs¹⁵ (for 50). This renders highly improbable his alleged tenure of the aedileship in 53. There were certainly no legal obstacles to prevent a man who had already held the aedileship from later becoming a tribune, but, at any rate, it would have been very unusual for an *aedilicius* to compete for the tribunate.¹⁶ But this is only a minor point here. What is important is not so much the simple fact that Curio became the tribune as the circumstance that he was elected at a by-election. He seems to have originally intended to stand in 51 for the aedileship of 50; however, after one of the designated tribunes had been convicted on a criminal charge and a vacancy in the tribunician college occurred, Curio appears to have changed his mind and got himself elected to the tribunate instead of the aedileship.¹⁷

But if we look more closely into the matter, we detect a complication. The first, somewhat surprising fact is that Curio's actual candidacy for

¹⁴ As the elections to the plebeian aedileship for 53 were not affected by the interregnum and took place in 54 — and Curio resided then in Asia — the contention that he was aedile of the plebs in 53 (advocated, strangely enough, by Münzer, *RE* 6.2075, and earlier by Büzl 43) entirely lacks foundation. See Seidel's criticism, *FA* 87–88. Münzer adopted later Seidel's view, see *RE* 2A.869.

¹⁵ For sources, see *MRR* 2.249.

¹⁶ See Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* 1³ (Leipzig 1887) 551–552. The only analogy would have been the case of M. Livius Drusus, tr. pl. 91, and aedile probably ca. 94. Cf. *MRR* 1.12 and 14 n. 1.

¹⁷ So Münzer, *RE* 2A.869.

the aedileship of 50 is nowhere expressly mentioned. The basis for that belief is constituted by two remarks of Caelius in his letters to Cicero: *Fam.* 8.9.3 (dated 2 September 51): *Turpe tibi erit Patiscum Curioni decem pantheras misisse, te non multis partibus pluris; quas ipsas Curio mihi et alias Africanas decem donavit*, and *Fam.* 8.8.10 (written in October 51): *Me tractat liberaliter Curio et mihi suo munere negotium imposuit: nam si mihi non dedisset eas quae ad ludos ei advectae erant Africanæ, potuit supersederi*.

These statements are rather vague, but nevertheless the inference seems to be possible that the *ludi* referred to cannot have been any others than those Curio would have had to give as aedile (in 50) and for which he was already making preparations. After his election to the tribunate, the panthers being of no use to him, he presented them to Caelius, the *aedilis curulis* designate.

But, one may ask, why invent new *ludi* of Curio: would it not be the most natural explanation to take Caelius' remark as referring to Curio's games honoring his deceased father?¹⁸ We know from Pliny¹⁹ that Curio gave not only theatrical performances, but also games in the amphitheater, for which wild beasts were necessary. There is, however, an obvious difficulty inherent in this interpretation. Curio gave his games at the latest in 52 (see below), and the panthers mentioned by Caelius were sent to Rome one year later, in 51. They could not be destined for Curio's funeral *munus*.

On the other hand it seems possible to explain why Curio withdrew from the canvass for the aedileship. The reason would be his debts, which he had contracted by his extravagant manner of life and especially by his profuse games in honor of his father; the tenure of the aedileship would have strained his resources to a still greater extent. He therefore approached Caesar, hoping to receive from him financial assistance, but was rebuffed and had to give up his aedilician plans. Only at that point, profiting by the condemnation of a tribune designate, he decided to take his chance and to stand with the help of the *boni* for the tribunate.²⁰

¹⁸ For this interpretation, see Tyrrell-Purser 3² (Dublin 1914) 117.

¹⁹ *N.H.* 36.116-120.

²⁰ See Caelius, *Fam.* 8.4.2. Curio's election to the tribunate is discussed by W. K. Lacey, "The Tribunate of Curio," *Historia* 10 (1961) 320-322; he does not, however, analyze the question of Curio's candidacy for the aedileship. We may note that if Curio really wanted to attain the aedileship, his goal was probably the aedileship of the plebs. M. Caelius, who in 51 was elected to the curule aedileship, records as his competitors M. Octavius and C. Lucilius Hirrus (*Fam.* 8.2.2; 8.3.1); of Curio no word.

Now if Curio canvassed for the aedileship in 51, it is clear that he could not have held that office previously. This conclusion may be corroborated by other arguments. As Seidel has pointed out,²¹ among the witnesses to the senatorial resolutions passed on 29 September 51,²² Curio was listed after C. Lucilius Hirrus, *tr. pl.* in 53 and unsuccessful candidate for the curule aedileship in 51; as this list was clearly arranged in order of seniority,²³ it shows that Curio had not attained the aedileship. Seidel and Broughton have been wholly justified in removing him from the lists of the aediles, where he found his place only thanks to the credulity of some, even outstanding scholars.

3. *Curio's games in honor of his father.* With respect to the alleged aedileship of Curio we have arrived at the same conclusion as Broughton, but this has no relevance to our main question, the dating of the aedileship of Favonius. The fact that Curio did not hold the aedileship does not entail in any way the conclusion that the date of Favonius' aedileship must have been 52, and not 53. It is only the games Curio gave in commemoration of his father's death that are of importance here. The profuse extravagance of these games earned them lasting notoriety. It is an attractive and convincing suggestion, put forward by Seidel and accepted by Münzer and Broughton,²⁴ that Plutarch refers in fact to these games, confusing them, however, with the aedilician ones and mistakenly terming Curio the colleague of Favonius. It is clear that the dating of Favonius' aedileship depends ultimately and exclusively upon the dating of Curio's games. Broughton states firmly that Curio gave his games in 52, but Seidel puts them in 53, and he is followed in that by Münzer and recently by Chr. Meier.²⁵ Once more, there is no direct evidence for either assertion. Plinius (*N.H.* 36.116-120) in his description of Curio's games gives no specific date; from a letter of Cicero to Curio (*Fam.* 2.3, written according to Tyrrel-Purser and Constans in the first half of 53) we know, however, that one of Curio's freedmen was ready at that time to announce the games, but he was advised by Curio's friends to defer the formal announcement until his patron's arrival in Rome. But we do not know when Curio returned to Rome: as we have seen, he may have returned in 53, but we have no means of

²¹ *FA* 88.

²² Caelius, *Fam.* 8.8.5.

²³ Cf. *MRR* 2.247-248.

²⁴ Seidel 88; Münzer, *RE* 2A.869; Broughton 2.240 n. 2.

²⁵ See Broughton, Seidel and Münzer 11.cc.; Meier, *Lexikon der Alten Welt* 2743. But Meier at the same time dates the aedileship of Favonius to 52 (*ibid.* 954), dissociating in that way (intentionally or not) Curio's games from Favonius' magistracy.

proving that he actually did so. Consequently, both 53 and 52 must be taken into account as possible dates for Favonius' aedileship.²⁶

III. CURIO AND LURCO

Let us now turn our attention to Favonius' hypothetical colleague in the aedileship, M. Aufidius Lurco. Who was this personage? It is not easy to determine; much easier and much more to the point would be to determine who he was not. In the first place he certainly was not Livia's maternal grandfather, as Willems²⁷ believed him to have been. Whether he is to be identified with the Lurco²⁸ who was a tribune of the plebs in 61, or with the M. Lurco²⁹ who was a senator in 59, or with

²⁶ An argument advanced by Seidel (*FA* 70–71) to disprove the possibility of assigning the aedileship of Favonius to 52 may be worth noticing. In 52 Favonius presided (as a *quaesitor*) over the trial of Milo *de sodaliciis* (Asconius 54 C), and it was Mommsen's firm belief that the *quaestio de sodaliciis* was always directed by non-magisterial officers, *quaesitores* or *iudices quaestionis*, and that a magistrate never functioned as the presiding officer in that court (*Röm. Staatsrecht* 2³ [Leipzig 1887] 583). Broughton was, however, not disturbed by this argument, and for good reason. The presidents of the court *de sodaliciis* are known in two other cases, and in both of them the theory of Mommsen does not seem to hold. Broughton (*MRR* 2.227 n. 3) points out that since C. Alfius Flavus, who presided in 54 over the trial of Plancius, was empowered to issue edicts (Cic., *ad Q. fr.* 3.1.24, regarding the trial of Gabinius *de maiestate*), it is very probable that he was praetor, and not only *quaesitor*, as Mommsen thought (*ibid.* 2.³ 201 n. 4). It is true that Cicero (*pro Planc.* 43 and *ad Q. fr.* 3.3.3, the latter reference concerning Gabinius' trial) applies to Alfius only the term *quaesitor* (as also Asconius [54 C] does with respect to Favonius), but this does not preclude the possibility that at the same time they were also magistrates. Mommsen observed himself that the term *quaesitor* was a general title given to any presiding officer of a standing court; it was used also in regard to magistrates (*Staatsrecht* 2.³ 223 n. 4; *Römisches Strafrecht* [Leipzig 1899] 207 n. 1). Decisive here, however, is the case of P. Servilius Isauricus, who held the praetorship in 54 (*MRR* 2.222) and in the same year was clearly in charge of C. Messius' trial (Cic., *ad Att.* 4.15.9); there is no doubt that this was a trial *de sodaliciis*, cf. Mommsen, *De collegiis et sodaliciis Romanorum* (Kiliae 1843) 61 and D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* 2 (Cambridge 1965) 211–212. The fact that Favonius served as a *quaesitor* in 52 must not therefore militate against the assumption that in the same year he was an aedile.

²⁷ *Le Sénat* 1.491. On evidence of inscriptions (*CIL* 9.3661 = *ILS* 125, *CIL* 2.1667, *IGR* 4.983) the name of Livia's mother was Alfidia M.f., and not Aufidia, as Suetonius (*Caligula* 23) states. Cf. Klebs, *RE* 2 (1896) 2293 s.v. Aufidius 24, and especially T. P. Wiseman, "The Mother of Livia Augusta," *Historia* 14 (1965) 333–334.

²⁸ Cic., *Att.* 1.16.13. Cf. Klebs, *ibid.* Aufidius 25; Shackleton Bailey 1.323. He may well be identical with the senator M. Lurco. See the next note.

²⁹ Cic., *pro Flacco* 86–89.

both, is far from certain. Nor can we tell whether he was or was not identical with the M. Aufidius Lurco who made a fortune by fattening peacocks for sale.³⁰ Moreover, it is not certain whether he really bore the gentilicium Aufidius.³¹ But there is still something more: perhaps our Lurco was not a real person at all. Suspicion is in order. He owes his existence to a conjecture by Willems,³² who emended the reading ΔΟΥΡΙΩΝ in the manuscripts of Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 46.7 to ΔΟΥΡΚΩΝ, and equipped him with the gentilicium Aufidius. But the real surprise is yet to come: this is the same passage in Plutarch that was adduced previously as the evidence for Favonius' connection with Curio. If we inspect not only the text of Plutarch, but also the apparatus criticus,³³ we will find that Curio too owes his existence to a conjecture, going back to J. Amyot, a sixteenth-century French bishop and statesman, famous as a classicist for his translation of Plutarch. In place of the manuscript reading ΔΟΥΡΙΩΝ he read ΚΟΥΡΙΩΝ, and this emendation has been unanimously adopted (with the exception of Willems) by all subsequent editors and commentators.

Both conjectures have been utilized in *MRR*: the entry on M. Aufidius Lurco as aedile in 52 is provided by Plutarch as emended by Willems, whereas the discussion on Favonius' association with Curio is based on Plutarch as emended by Amyot. One (or both) of them must disappear. If Amyot's conjecture is discarded and Willems' emendation is adopted, not only Scribonius Curio and his games disappear, but also an important piece of evidence that Broughton was able to adduce in support of his dating of the aedileship of Favonius in 52. But this does not change the picture too much: as we have tried to show, the association of Favonius with Curio was not conclusive in this respect. The association of Favonius with Lurco is not conclusive either; however, it would have slightly favored the attribution of Favonius' (and Lurco's) aedileship to 53, this being the most natural chronology of Plutarch's account. It seems, however, that it is rather Lurco's name, and not Curio's, that should be deleted. Normally both aediles took care of the *ludi* and shared equal responsibility for organizing them:³⁴ it is there-

³⁰ Varro, *de re rust.* 3.6.1; Plin., *N.H.* 10.45; Tert., *de Pall.* 5.6; cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2.4.24.

³¹ In fact, only his cognomen has been recovered from the text of Plutarch (see below). However, if he really was a Lurco, it is not unlikely that he was also an Aufidius, the cognomen Lurco being used, as far as we know, only by the gens Aufidia. Cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 269.

³² *Le Sénat* 1.491.

³³ Cf. the edition by K. Ziegler in the *Bibl. Teubneriana* (Lipsiae 1964).

³⁴ See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* 2.³ 519; Seidel 88 n. 7.

fore very improbable that the two aediles should have organized the theatrical performances simultaneously but separately in two different theatres.

If we retain the reading *Kouplōv*, we may proceed further; but the affair with Lurco adds an uncertainty to all our conclusions.

IV. CURIO AND CICERO: THE DATE OF CICERO'S ELECTION TO THE AUGURATE

The elevation to the augurate was, after the consulship, the greatest political and social success of Cicero, marking the peak of his career after his return from the exile. Surprisingly enough, modern scholars have paid no adequate attention to the possibilities of establishing the exact date of that event.

Cicero was elected augur to fill the vacancy in the augural college after the death of P. Crassus, the younger son of the triumvir, who fell in the battle near Carrhae on 9 June 53.³⁵ The most widespread opinion asserts that Cicero's election also took place in 53;³⁶ Broughton is more cautious, and rightly so. He states that Cicero was elected "probably in 53," but further on he defines the period of time available for Cicero's election more strictly: Cicero was elected "before Curio's return from Asia and Antony's departure for Gaul."³⁷ In other words, Cicero attained the augurate when Curio was absent from Rome and when Antony was present.³⁸ In later years Antonius allegedly boasted that he originally wanted to compete for the augurate at that time and that he gave up only because of his reverence for the consular, thus paving the way for Cicero's election. Now, we do not know precisely when Antonius came to Rome from Gaul, or when he returned as quaestor to Caesar's army. This depends to a large extent upon the date of his quaestorship; opinions of scholars vary on this point, 52 or 51 being the

³⁵ Drumann-Groebe 4.114ff., 129; Münzer, *RE* 13 (1926) 293 s.v. Licinius 63; Gelzer, *ibid.*, 325-328 s.v. Licinius 68.

³⁶ See Drumann-Groebe 6.80; C. Bardt, *Die Priester der vier grossen Collegien aus römisch-republikanischer Zeit* (Progr. Berlin 1871) 25; E. Ciaceri, *Cicerone e i suoi tempi* 2² (Genova 1941) 159; J. van Ooteghem, *Pompée le Grand* (Bruxelles 1954) 437; D. Magnino, *Plutarchi Vita Ciceronis* (Firenze 1964) 118. This date was apparently accepted also by M. Gelzer, *RE* 7A (1939) 967 (repeated without change in his *Cicero* [Wiesbaden 1969] 206) and F. Miltner, *RE* 21 (1952) 2159 s.v. Pompeius 31.

³⁷ *MRR* 2.233.

³⁸ Cicero, *Phil.* 2.4: *Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti*, and further: *Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere cum in Italia Curio non esset* . . . ?

possibilities.³⁹ The only fact we know for certain is that he was already in Rome some time before the death of Clodius⁴⁰ (on 18 January 52) and that he was still there during the trial of Milo *de vi*: on 7 April 52 he delivered, as subscriptor to the accusation, a speech against Milo.⁴¹ Nor is Curio of great help here, as also the date of his return to Rome is uncertain. To approach from that side the question of the dating of Cicero's election is obviously futile.

Let us see whether the whole problem should not be reversed and looked upon at first rather from the constitutional and not only from the prosopographical point of view. The question to be asked is not when Cicero was elected augur, but when the election to the augurate could (in 53 or 52) constitutionally take place.

On 5 May 43, Cicero wrote in a letter to Brutus (1.5.3): *Ciceronem nostrum in vestrum collegium cooptari volo*. The Republic was breaking up but he was thinking about the election and cooptation of his son to the college of the pontiffs.⁴² But there were difficulties, of a constitutional nature only, of course: both consuls, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, fell fighting against Antonius, and Cicero complains (ibid. 1.5.4): *Omnino Pansa vivo celeriora omnia putabamus; statim enim collegam sibi subrogavisset, deinde ante praetoria sacerdotum comitia fuissent: nunc per auspicia longam moram video; dum enim unus erit patricius magistratus, auspicia ad patres redire non possunt: magna sane perturbatio*.

The popular election of the members of the great priesthoods,⁴³ replacing the earlier *cooptatio*, was introduced by the *lex Domitia* of 104 B.C., abolished by Sulla, restored by a *lex* of T. Labienus in 63, and retained by a *lex Iulia*, passed by Caesar after 49. These elections were assigned to a special assembly (which already in the third century

³⁹ Broughton (*MRR* 2.236) puts his quaestorship in 52, but Drumann-Groebe (1.48-49) argued that he was quaestor in 51; so also recently D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* 3 (Cambridge 1968) 121. Arguments can be adduced in favor of both datings, and it would be interesting to analyze them. This question cannot, however, be gone into here.

⁴⁰ From Cicero, *Phil.* 2.49-50, we learn that Antonius came to Rome *ad quaesturam petendam* in 53: it was the period of armed clashes between Milo and Clodius, and Antonius, whose candidacy was supported by Cicero, allegedly almost succeeded in killing Clodius (cf. also Cic., *Mil.* 40).

⁴¹ Asc. 41 C. For the date, see A. C. Clark, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro T. Annio Milone oratio* (Oxford 1895) 127-129; T. R. Holmes, *The Roman Republic* 2 (Oxford 1923) 315-316.

⁴² Cf. Drumann-Groebe 6.635.

⁴³ For sources and discussion, see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* 2³. 27-32; L. R. Taylor, "The Election of the Pontifex Maximus in the Late Republic," *CPh* 37 (1942) 421-424; R. Frei-Stolba, *Untersuchungen zu den Wahlen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Zürich 1967) 26-27.

elected the pontifex maximus), the *comitia* of seventeen tribes, constituting formally the *minor pars populi*. This represented a compromise between the democratic principle of popular election and the religious principle of the augural law that the priesthoods cannot be given by the people. The electoral procedure, which persisted until the empire, was complicated and cumbersome. It consisted of three stages. The first was the *nominatio*. Each member of the college in which there was a vacant place had the right to nominate one candidate, but, at least until the *lex Iulia*, no candidate could be nominated by more than two members.⁴⁴ The *nominatio* took place publicly, in a *contio*.⁴⁵ The second stage was the popular election by seventeen tribes, chosen by lot, with the people having the choice only between the nominated candidates. As the third stage, the *cooptatio* followed, the members of the college being obliged to coopt by their vote the candidate (or candidates) returned by the popular assembly.⁴⁶ The election and cooptation were complemented and made formally valid by the religious ceremony of *inauguratio* performed by an augur.

From the letter to Brutus cited above we learn that at the close of the Republic the *comitia sacerdotum* occurred at a stated time, between the consular and the praetorian elections. In the preceding paragraph Cicero mentions a *lex Iulia, quae lex est de sacerdotiis proxima*, but he discusses only those provisions of that law that concerned the election in absentia.⁴⁷ There is, however, no doubt that it was not the *lex Iulia*, but one of the earlier laws, very probably the *lex Domitia*,⁴⁸ that assigned to the elections of the priests the place between the consular and the praetorian *comitia*. A clause to that effect was, at any rate, contained in the *lex Labiena*; in the letter of Caelius of 1 August 51, we find the following information: Caelius notes at first: *C. Marcellum con-*

⁴⁴ Cic., *Phil.* 2.4. See also below, n. 66.

⁴⁵ *Auct. ad Her.* 1.20.

⁴⁶ Cic., *leg. agr.* 2.18.

⁴⁷ *Ad Brut.* 1.5.3.

⁴⁸ It may be noted that Cass. Dio presents the law of Labienus as a renewal of the *lex Domitia* (37.37.1): τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν ἱερέων, γράψαντος μὲν τοῦ Λαβιήνου σπουδάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὸν δῆμον αὐθις ὁ ὄμιλος παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Σύλλου νόμον ἐπανήγαγεν, ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸν τοῦ Δομιτίου. The wording of Cicero, *ad Brut.* 1.5.3 points in the same direction: *Gaius enim Marius, quum in Cappadocia esset, lege Domitia factus est augur, nec, quo minus id postea liceret, ulla lex sanxit*. Cicero interprets the provisions of the *lex Domitia* as still valid; as the law of Domitius was repealed by Sulla, the conclusion seems probable that the *lex Labiena* provided for the reenactment of the *lex Domitia* and did not introduce any new provisions.

sulem factum . . . *P. Dolabellam XVvirum factum*, and then he remarks: *Praetoriis* (sc. *comitiis*) *morae quaedam inciderunt*.⁴⁹ The *comitia sacerdotum* had already taken place, and the elections of the praetors were still in prospect.

From the words of Cicero: *Pansa vivo omnia celeriora putabamus* e.q.s. L. Mercklin⁵⁰ has acutely inferred that one of the consuls had to preside over the *comitia sacerdotum*. This provision also we may safely attribute to the *lex Domitia* as reenacted by the law of Labienus.

We may conclude that Cicero's election to the augurate must have taken place under the presidency of a consul, after the consular, but before the praetorian *comitia*.⁵¹

In 53 there took place only the delayed elections for 53; the consular *comitia* were held probably in July, but we do not know when the praetorian elections occurred. However, taking into account the temporary restoration of order caused by Pompey's intervention and the special measures voted by the senate against the rioters, we may assume that the praetors were elected without much trouble (especially as Clodius withdrew from the race, intending to stand for 52⁵²) not long after the consular elections.

Let us now return to our prosopographical considerations. In summer 53 Curio was certainly not yet in Rome; whether Antonius was already present is not easy to tell: it is possible, but perhaps not probable. The year in question was not a normal year: the city was disrupted by riots and turmoil, and still late in June 53, the elections for that year having not yet been held, there was no prospect whatsoever of elections for 52. One may expect that Antonius, who wanted to stand for the quaestorship of 52, would not have come to Rome until there was a reasonable hope that the elections for 52 would eventually be held, that is after the report reached Gaul that the consuls for 53 had already been chosen (or, at least, that order had been restored and the electoral *comitia* were about to be convened). But this is only guessing; we have no explicit evidence to settle the question.

⁴⁹ Cic., *Fam.* 8.4.1, 3.

⁵⁰ *Die Cooptation der Römer* (Mitau und Leipzig 1848) 147, accepted by Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 2³. 32 n. 1. Whether the regulations concerning the *comitia sacerdotum* applied also to the election of the *pontifex maximus* is uncertain.

⁵¹ We can now see that the view according to which Cicero became augur at the end of 53 (so Ciaceri, *Cicerone* 2³. 159, and apparently also Ooteghem *Pompée* 437) is patently false: no elections occurred at that time.

⁵² Cic., *Mil.* 24. But cf. E. Badian, *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (Oxford 1964) 150, whose interpretation of Clodius' candidature in 53 is probably preferable to that of Cicero.

But the most important question is when the news about the disaster at Carrhae reached Rome. I have not been able to find any specific information to that effect;⁵³ however, taking into account the speed with which news traveled at that time,⁵⁴ we have to allow for about one month or more: from about mid-June to mid-July or even the beginning of August. And it is hardly likely that the augural college would have immediately proceeded to nomination, election, and cooptation of a new member without waiting for an official and unequivocal confirmation of the news of P. Crassus' death. Of course, the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out that Cicero was, in fact, elected in 53, but there is, at the very least, room for grave doubt.⁵⁵

⁵³ The views of modern authorities are very diverse. According to some scholars, it was not until close to the end of the year that the death of Crassus became known at Rome (cf. Drumann-Groebe 3.303, 4.534; Ooteghem, *Pompée* 433. We may incidentally observe that nevertheless they assign Cicero's election to 53: an impossibility on their own premise). However, they cite no evidence; nor do any of the authors who hold that the report of Crassus' death came to Rome already in July or August (cf. Lange, *RA* 3². 368; Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie* 211; F. E. Adcock, *CAH* 9 [1934] 622). The latter view seems more likely (see below, n. 54), but this does not solve the problem. Essential for our argument is whether it was after or before the consular and praetorian elections. In fact, Lange and Meyer think that at that time the *comitia consularia* were already over. In that case the date of Cicero's election would almost certainly be 52.

⁵⁴ As illustration, some recorded instances of the speed of travel in republican times may be adduced. The messenger with the news of the victory at Pydna covered the distance from Macedonia to Rome in 12 days (Liv. 45.1.11), but this was an extraordinary feat, and was recorded by Livy as such. For a private letter a journey of 46 days from Rome to Cilicia (and in the best season of the year) was regarded by Cicero as a remarkably short time (Cic., *Att.* 5.19.1), which is wholly understandable as at the same time a letter from Epirus to Laodicea in Cilicia traveled (in winter) 48 days (Cic., *Att.* 6.1.1, 22; cf. L. W. Hunter, *JRS* 3 [1913] 91). A letter sent by Cassius from Syria on 7 May 43 reached Rome some days before the end of June (Cic., *Fam.* 12.10.1-2; 12.12.5), rather a good time, especially when taking into account disturbances of the civil war. In the summer of 47 a freedman of C. Trebonius covered the distance from Seleucia Pieria (the port of Antioch) to Brundisium in 27 days (Cic., *Att.* 11.20.1). But this establishes only a general pattern: the speed of any particular travel depended upon too many unpredictable factors. Cf. W. Riepl., *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* (Leipzig 1913) 205ff; Reincke, *RE* 16 (1935) 1539-1540. On the speed of sea travel, see the fundamental study of L. Casson, "Speed under Sail of Ancient Ships," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 136-148.

⁵⁵ The technicalities concerning the election of the priests are of some importance here. As we have seen, the candidates for the priesthoods had to be nominated at a public *contio*, convened presumably under the presidency of the same officer, who was to preside over the electoral *comitia*, that is, under the presidency of a consul. But in 53, until the election of Domitius Calvinus and

There remains the year 52.⁵⁶ In that year there took place the delayed elections for 52, and, as usual, the elections for the next year. The electoral *comitia* for 51 could be summoned at the earliest in July, the normal time for elections in the post-Sullan period, but very possibly they occurred later.⁵⁷ There is no doubt that Curio resided at that time in Rome, and, as Cicero was elected in his absence, his election must have occurred at an earlier date, possibly at the *comitia sacerdotum* before the praetorian election for 52. Let us now consider this possibility.

On the 24th day of the intercalary month (*V a.d. Kal. Mart.*)⁵⁸ Pompey was elected sole consul. Now, what is of special interest for our argument is the question when the elections for other magistracies were held. And it is interesting to note that the answer to this question has never been clearly presented. It has been argued that at least two of the *quaesitores* who presided over the trials under the *lex (Plautia) de vi* and *Pompeia de ambitu* might have been praetors in that year;⁵⁹ con-

Valerius Messala in July or August, there were no consuls, and the *contio* for the *nominatio* of the priests could have been summoned only after they entered office (it is utterly improbable that it could be convened by an interrex). On the other hand, there is no doubt that the *comitia sacerdotum*, like any other gathering of the popular assembly, must have been announced in *trinum nundinum*, that is 24, or according to A. K. Michels (*The Calendar of the Roman Republic* [Princeton 1967] 191-206), 25 days before the date of the meeting. And it is clear that the *comitia sacerdotum* could have been announced only after the candidates had been nominated. In 53 this would have necessitated a long interval between the consular elections and the *comitia sacerdotum*; it is, however, to be noted that this does not increase the probability of Cicero being elected in 53: important here is not the date of election, but the date of *nominatio*. And the *nominatio* must have taken place immediately after the consular elections. But there are reasons to think that the *trinum nundinum* was not observed with respect to post-interregal elections; see below, n. 63.

⁵⁶ F. Münzer once made a cursory remark that Cicero stood for the augurship in 52 (*RE* 13 [1927] 1643), but he presented no arguments, and his observation remained unnoticed. It is possible that this was also the opinion of Lange, cf. *RA* 3².372.

⁵⁷ The *comitia* for 51 could have been held only after the election of Q. Caecilius Metellus as Pompey's colleague in the consulship. Plutarch (*Pomp.* 55) says that he was appointed consul for the remaining five months of the year; at any rate he entered office between 6 July and 13 September: see A. Ép. 1959, 146 *prid. Non. Quinct.* Pompey as sole consul, *CIL* 1² 933 *Id. Sep.* Pompey and Metellus as consuls.

⁵⁸ Asc. 36 C. I accept here the intercalary month of 27 days; see the illuminating discussion by A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* 160-163.

⁵⁹ For the list of *quaesitores*, see *MRR* 2.237. Lange (*RA* 3².372) thought that A. Torquatus and [C.] Considius, who presided respectively over the *quaestio de ambitu* and the *quaestio de vi* (under the *lex Plautia*) were praetors in that

sequently, they would have been elected some time before the trials of Milo began early in April. However, as the praetorship of any of the *quaesitores* in 52 is far from being certain, this is a very circumstantial piece of evidence, whereas at the same time an important piece of information directly concerning the elections in 52 has apparently been overlooked.

Narrating the course of events between the promulgation of the *leges Pompeiae* and the beginning of Milo's trials Asconius⁶⁰ has the following story: *Idem quoque Munatius et Pompeius tribuni plebis in rostra produxerunt triumvirum capitalem, eumque interrogaverant an Galatam Milonis servum caedes facientem deprehendisset. Ille dormientem in taberna pro fugitivo prehensum et ad se perductum esse responderat. Denuntiaverant tamen triumviro, ne servum remitteret: sed postera die Caelius tribunus plebis et Manilius Cumanus collega eius ereptum e domo triumviri servum Miloni reddiderant.* The story itself need not detain us; the mention of a *triumvir capitalis*, who was in office in 52, is, however, of prime importance. The *tres viri capitales* were elected together with other minor officials by the *comitia tributa* under the presidency of the *praetor urbanus*;⁶¹ as the elections were held in descending order, at the time when the event related by Asconius occurred, all other magistrates must have already been chosen. According to Asconius' narrative the affair with Milo's slave happened before the beginning of Milo's trial on 4 March, and very probably even before the *leges Pompeiae* were voted on by the *comitia*.⁶² We may conclude that the elections for 52 took place in March, possibly in the first half of the month.⁶³ This

year (cf. also Drumann-Groebe 2.297). But it is very likely that A. Torquatus the *quaesitor* is to be identified with A. Manlius Torquatus, who held the praetorship already in 70 (see *MRR* 2.77, 127, 133, 237, with some hesitations however, as to the identity of the *quaesitor* and the praetor on p. 586; J. F. Mitchell, "The Torquati," *Historia* 15 [1966] 26); in that case he certainly was not a praetor in 52. Cf. also Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 2.³201 n. 2, 584 n. 4. As to Considius, Broughton (*MRR* 2.240 n. 3) considers the possibility that he was praetor in 52, but his citation of Mommsen, *Strafrecht* 208 n. 1, is misleading. Mommsen notes there that the term *quaesitor* was also used with respect to presiding praetor (cf. above, note 26), but, at the same time, he states (*Staatsrecht* 2.³584) that the *quaestio de vi* was never presided over by a praetor.

⁶⁰ 37 C.

⁶¹ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 2.³594-596.

⁶² Asc. 37-38 C.

⁶³ According to Asconius (36 C), Pompeius referred to the senate the question of the legislation *de vi* and *de ambitu post diem tertium* after his election, i.e. on the 26th of the intercalary month; on the next day (*pridie Kal. Mart.*, Asc. 44 C) a senatorial decree was passed (the question of the debate in the senate

would (or, at least, could) also be the date of Cicero's election to the augurate.

Several years later Cicero asserted: *me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt — nec enim licebat*

and of the exact relation of the *senatus consultum* to the *leges Pompeiae* has been much discussed, without reaching, however, any generally accepted conclusions, cf. e.g. divergent interpretations proposed by T. R. Holmes, *The Roman Republic* 2.168–169, E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*³ 229–232, P. Stein, *Die Senatssitzungen der ciceronischen Zeit* [Münster 1930] 53 n. 291). The laws were formally promulgated probably on 1 March (I take the *contio* of Munatius Plancus on 1 March [Asc. 44–45 C] as immediately subsequent to the publication of the proposal of the laws) and passed on one of the comitial days at the end of March, probably on 24 or 25 March, the earliest possible date. The formal language of Asconius (cf. 36 C: *duas [leges] ex S.C. promulgavit*) and his long narration of events that intervened between the promulgation and the passage of the *leges Pompeiae* strongly suggest that the *trinum nundinum* was observed in that case. But this hardly makes possible the observance of *trinum nundinum* in regard to the elections for the praetorship and the other magistracies, even if they were announced by Pompey immediately upon entering office. Positing that the announcement took place on the 25th day of the intercalary month, the *comitia sacerdotum* could have occurred (with the observance of the *trinum nundinum*) at the earliest on 21 or 25 March (March 22 through 24 being non-comitial days, and accepting the *trinum nundinum* of respectively 24 or 25 days. The *nominatio* of the candidates could have been performed in the previous year; see below). As for the election of praetors, aediles, quaestors, and minor officials (such as the *tres viri capitales*), at least three, but probably four or five days were needed (normally the elections took much more time, but we know that in 70 they were completed in nine days, only seven of them comitial, between 27 July and 4 August; cf. Ps.-Asc. 212 Stangl, Cic., *Verr.* 1.30, *Brut.* 319), the first available day for the voting on Pompey's laws would have been 28 or 29 March. Probably on the same day would also have taken place the election of the *quaesitor* for the trial *de vi* under Pompey's law. This reconstruction is theoretically possible, but practically not very likely. First of all, it would have left too little time for preliminary legal business connected with Milo's trials, and, secondly, it seems that the *tres viri capitales* had already been in office some days before the passage of the *leges Pompeiae*.

We should not lose sight of two other possibilities: a) Pompey could have been granted a dispensation by the senate from the observation of the *trinum nundinum*, both with respect to legislation and elections, and b) 52 was an interregal year. As the single *interreges* stayed in office only for five days, the *comitia consularia* could not be announced much in advance; they had to be summoned on the first available comitial day (with the exception of the first five days, of course). Although the elections for other magistracies were presided over by one of the newly elected consuls, it is probable that no new announcement was necessary, the original announcement by an *interrex* being valid for the whole electoral period. In that case the elections of other magistrates could have been held immediately after the *comitia consularia*. As regards the year 52, this is certainly the most likely reconstruction.

a pluribus nominari.⁶⁴ It was not quite so. Cicero himself mentions C. Lucilius Hirrus as his competitor:⁶⁵ this means that at least one member of the college must have nominated Hirrus.⁶⁶ The political affiliations of Hirrus are of interest. In 53, when he was tribune of the plebs, he proposed (together with M. Coelius Vinicianus) that Pompey be named dictator. The senate, led by Cato, reacted fiercely, and Pompey, who undoubtedly stood behind the proposal of the tribunes, retreated.⁶⁷ He had it declared that he did not desire the dictatorship. Hirrus — as so many others — was dropped. In this perspective Pompey's association with Hortensius in nominating Cicero as a candidate for the augurate is highly significant: it amounted to a demonstration of political unity between Pompey and the leading faction in the senate. This would be very significant in 53, and certainly not less in 52. But, as far as 52 is concerned, there is a snag: Pompey's nomination of Cicero does not seem to be in harmony with his attitude toward Cicero at that time.

⁶⁴ *Phil.* 2.4; cf. *Brut.* 1.1.

⁶⁵ *Fam.* 2.15.1, 8.3.1. In *ad Att.* 5.19.3 and 6.8.3 the allusion is to M. Calidius, and not to Hirrus; cf. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* 3.314–315.

⁶⁶ As it was to be expected, the rhetoric of Cicero did not fail to exert some influence. The best example is Ciaceri's statement (*Cicerone* 2².159): *essendosi il collegio dichiarato per lui col lasciare da parte il suo competitore, il tribuno Lucilio Irro, era stato nominato da Ortensio e da Pompeo*. This presupposes the preliminary voting within the college (in Cicero's case unanimous, of course), with eventually only one candidate nominated and presented to the *comitia*. But this is sheer fantasy: there is no doubt that the people had the choice between more candidates than there were vacant places (cf. *Cic.*, *Phil.* 2.4; *Cael.*, *Fam.* 8.14.1; *Hirtius*, *B.G.* 8.50.1–3, all referring to Antony's election to the augurate).

A similar view to that of Ciaceri seems to have been held also by Drumann, cf. 3.95; on p. 156 he propounds a slightly different, but equally unsupported contention (retained by Groebe) that all candidates were nominated in the name of the *collegium* by two of its members (but he does not explain which ones). Essentially the same view was advocated also by L. Mercklin, *Die Cooptation* 123.

Are we really to suppose that Pompey and Hortensius nominated both Cicero and Hirrus? Cicero's words, *me augurem a toto collegio expetitur*, e.q.s. are not in favor of this interpretation: they are patently informal, and the verb *expetere* hardly conveys any notion of a formal action on the part of the college preceding, and resulting in, the nomination of Cicero by Pompey and Hortensius. The view of the scholars cited above is clearly disproved by a letter of Brutus, which shows that each member of a college was entitled to nominate a candidate and that in his own name, and not on behalf of the college (*ad Brut.* 1.7, cf. *Phil.* 13.5.12). This conclusion is corroborated also by *Auct. ad Her.* 1.20, see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 2³.30 n. 2.

⁶⁷ On Hirrus' activities as tribune, see Niccolini, *FTP* 315–316 (with full citation of sources).

Cicero's determination to defend Milo was not to the general's liking;⁶⁸ on the other hand, however, Cicero has words of praise for Pompey's *facilitas* and *humanitas* shown him on that occasion.⁶⁹

But nomination and election were two separate acts. This suggests a solution. If the elections for 52 had been held in 53, Cicero would certainly have been elected to the augurate at that time. The *comitia consularia* were already announced, but when they convened they were dispersed by the armed bands.⁷⁰ Of course, by that time all the preliminaries for the elections had long been over: the *professiones* of the candidates for the magistracies⁷¹ and the *nominaciones* of the candidates for the priesthoods. I would therefore suggest that Pompey and Hortensius may have nominated Cicero in the autumn of 53 at a *contio* convened by one of the consuls after the announcement of elections for 52; in that case the actual election would have been performed under Pompey's presidency in March 52.

* * *

Cicero's augurate and Favonius' aedileship certainly have nothing in common, except for one thing: the link between the date of Favonius' aedileship and the date of Cicero's election to the augurate, as provided by the person of C. Scribonius Curio, has served as a starting point for the present inquiry. We may summarize our conclusions as follows:

1. If the news of P. Crassus' death had not reached Rome by the time of consular and praetorian elections in summer 53, the only date available for Cicero's election to the augurate is March 52, although he may have been nominated as a candidate in autumn 53. If Cicero was chosen augur in March 52, Curio must have returned to Rome after that date, and a) if Amyot was right in his emendation of the reading *ΔΟΥΡΙΩΝ* in Plutarch's manuscripts into *ΚΟΥΡΙΩΝ* (as he seems to have been) and b) if Plutarch rightly associates Curio's games with the aedilician games of Favonius, then the date of the aedileship of Favonius must be 52.

⁶⁸ Asc. 38 C.

⁶⁹ Two years later he wrote in a letter to App. Claudius Pulcher (*Fam.* 3.10.10): *quibus ille me rebus non ornatum voluit amplissime?* (an allusion to Pompey's nomination of Cicero?) *qua denique ille facilitate, qua humanitate tulit contentionem meam pro Milone adversante interdum actionibus suis? quo studio providit, ne quae me illius temporis invidia attingeret, quum me consilio, quum auctoritate, quum armis denique texit suis?*

⁷⁰ Sch. Bob. 172 Stangl; Cic., *Mil.* 25 and 96. Cf. Clark's notes ad locc. and Lange, *RA* 3².362.

⁷¹ It was certainly at the official *professio* that Milo was ordered to estimate the amount of his debts; see Sch. Bob. 169-170 Stangl.

2. But if P. Crassus' death became known at Rome before the elections of the priests, Cicero might have been elected in 53; in that case, as Curio may have returned to Rome as well in 53 as in 52, we have no means of establishing whether the date of Favonius' aedileship was 53 or 52.

3. If Amyot's conjecture is rejected and Willems' emendation into *AOYPKON* accepted, or any other new reading proposed, Scribonius Curio disappears, and with him any link between Favonius' aedileship and Cicero's augurate. The date of the former would then be 53 or 52. The acceptance of Willems' emendation does not, however, affect in any way our argument concerning Cicero's augurate.

The results achieved are purely conditional: but we should not convert possibilities into facts and pretend to know more than we do.⁷²

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⁷² I wish to thank Professor J. F. Gilliam who kindly consented to read this paper and offered helpful suggestions. I also owe thanks to Professor W. V. Harris for his useful criticism and to Professor D. C. Lindberg who helped to make my English intelligible.

ON THE DATE OF THE *FIRST ECLOGUE*

WENDELL CLAUSEN

I shall begin not with the *First Eclogue* but with the *Eighth*, in particular verses 6-13:

Tu mihi seu magni superas iam saxa Timauī,
siue oram Illyrici legis aequoris, — en erit umquam
ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
en erit ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno?
a te principium, tibi desinam: accipe iussis
carmina coepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum
inter uictricis hederam tibi serpere lauros.

These verses are commonly taken as referring to Pollio and his campaign against the Parthini in the year 39. According to the conventional chronology of the *Eclogues*, the *Eighth* would then be one of the last written; and most scholars assume it was. The poem consists in the main of two songs, the second modeled closely after Theocritus' *Second Idyll* but with a happy ending in contrast with the sad ending of the first. The songs are alike in structure except for a slight variation at the end of the second — as a reader might suppose, if he happened to notice. But Virgil wrote the second song first, then added a corresponding song later.¹ I suspect that the second song is an early effort, Theocritean and metrically immature.² The *Eighth Eclogue* as a whole can hardly be one of the last Virgil wrote; this being so, verses 6-13 must have been inserted for some purpose. They fit awkwardly where they are, bearing no relation to the verses which precede or follow; and were they absent no one would miss them.³ A drastic proposal has been made recently by

¹ Hence the vapidness of verses 47-50, which have so troubled commentators: see J. Vahlen, *Opusc. acad.* II (1908) 526-538.

² N.-O. Nilsson, *Eranos* 58 (1960) 90, should not have stated, in spite of his own evidence: "Mit der Elisionstechnik der zweiten und dritten Ekloge hat der Gesang des Alpheisiboeus also nichts gemein . . ." It seems not to have occurred to him that parts of the poem could have been written at different times.

³ W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der röm. Literatur* (1926) 233: "Aber vorher sind acht Versen eingelegt, die Pollios Erfolge illyrischen Feldzüge feiern und den Rahmen des Ganzen sprengen: ein sehr gewagtes Mittel, das Vergil offenbar in dieser Weise anwendet, und eben darum ist er gescheitert."

P. Levi:⁴ delete the offending verses, or most of them. This will not do; for there are no interpolations of this size in Virgil's text. (The "Helen Episode" is not comparable because it is not preserved in the ancient MSS.) Levi argues that the words "a te principium, tibi desinam" suggest a proem, and do not belong here. His other objections seem to me captious.⁵ Now G. W. Bowersock⁶ has shown that verses 6-13 do not refer to Pollio, but to Octavian: therefore not to the year 39, but to the year 35. Bowersock concerned himself only with the historical fact, not with the literary consequences of the fact. I am responsible for what follows.

The *First Eclogue* is a strange and beautiful — and curiously difficult — poem. It refers to Octavian, though he is not named, and refers to him in terms that suggest Hellenistic ruler-worship,⁷ verses 6-8:

O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit.
namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram
saepe tener nostris ab ouilibus imbuet agnus.

Verses 41-44:

Quid facerem? neque seruitio me exire licebat
nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere diuos.
hic illum uidi iuuenem, Meliboee, quotannis
bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.

Verse 44 is still misinterpreted by commentators, by E. de Saint-Denis (1960⁴), H. Holtorf (1959), J. Perret (1961); though Perret does recognize a difficulty: "*Fumant*: ces cérémonies ne se laissent pas situer de façon précise par rapport à un rituel connu d'autre part. On songe au culte du (ou des) Lare(s). De fait, Auguste leur sera plus tard (cf. Horace, *Odes*, 4, 5, 34-35) associé dans chaque maison, sans doute parce qu'on honore son *Genius* comme celui du *paterfamilias*. La piété de Virgil aurait-il pressenti cet avenir...?" The right explanation, largely ignored, was given long ago by G. Wissowa.⁸ Wissowa showed

⁴ *Hermes* 94 (1966) 73-79.

⁵ For example: would a young poet who had grown up near Mantua know that the estuary of the Timavus had a soft and muddy bottom? When Virgil wrote "saxa Tinaui," he was thinking of the rocky coast of Illyricum.

⁶ *HSCP* 75 (1971) 73-80.

⁷ See F. Bömer, *Würzb. Jahrb.* 4 (1949-1950) 60-70; and H. Hafter, *Philol.* 93 (1938) 132-138. See also F. Klingner, *Hermes* 72 (1927) 147 n. 3, who noticed the elaborate and significant reminiscence of the *Fifth Eclogue*.

⁸ *Hermes* 37 (1902) 157-159. G. Jachmann, *Neue Jahrb.* 49 (1922) 115 n. 2, while accepting Wissowa's views, suggests that Virgil got the idea from Theocr., 17.126-127. See also E. Rohde, *Psyche* 1³ (1903) 235 n. 1.

that it was a feature of Hellenistic ruler-worship to celebrate the birthday of the ruler each month, *κατὰ μῆνα*: Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus of Commagene, the Attalids, the Ptolemies — all were so honored, as were the Caesars later in Egypt. Verse 44 has nothing to do with the worship of the *Lar familiaris* or Roman cult.

If the *First Eclogue* is dated in the year 40, as it usually is, there is no way of accounting for the style and tone of the references to Octavian.⁹ In that year Octavian was twenty-three — already "a chill and mature terrorist":¹⁰ guilty of the blood of his fellow countrymen, responsible for the land confiscations in the North. For the return of a small farm, would Virgil consider such a man as savior and god? The story of Virgil's farm is a poor piece of scholiastic fiction that has been believed. Virgil's farm is not Horace's villa.

There is another difficulty. In the year 40, as we may infer from the *Fourth Eclogue*, Pollio was Virgil's patron — presumably they had met when Pollio was governing Cisalpine Gaul for Antony; and Pollio and Octavian were not friends. Macrobius, 2.4.21: "Temporibus triumphalibus Pollio, cum Fescenninos in eum Augustus scripsisset, ait: 'at ego taceo. non est enim facile in eum scribere qui potest proscribere.'" The grim play on words indicates the date. We may guess that many nobles shared Pollio's opinion of Octavian.

How then is the *First Eclogue* to be understood? With the advantage of the new date Bowersock provides. Suppose the *First Eclogue*, at least in the form we have it, was written in the year 35: then it becomes intelligible.

On the third of September of the previous year Octavian finally defeated Sextus Pompey at Naulochus; and shortly thereafter returned to Rome in triumph: "ouans ex Sicilia."¹¹ The future now seemed secure. "There was ordered government, and that was enough. Private gratitude had already hailed the young Caesar with the name or epithet of divinity. His statue was now placed in temples by loyal or obedient Italian municipalities."¹² The reference is to Appian, *Bell. civ.* V. 133: *τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε στάσεων ἐδόκει τέλος εἶναι. καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς*

⁹ E. A. Fredericksmeier, *Hermes* 94 (1966) 208-210, is mistaken in thinking that Cicero's use of the adjective *diuinus* means anything, as a glance at Merguet's *Lexicon* will show.

¹⁰ R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939) 191.

¹¹ *CIL*, I. 1, 50.

¹² Syme, *Roman Revolution* 233. Syme naturally assumes the conventional date for the *First Eclogue*.

συνῆδρον. That is, Octavian's statue was set up by the statues of the other gods: he became an additional god, in the Hellenistic style. Virgil's *First Eclogue* then is a personal expression of a public attitude. In this it resembles the *Fourth*, written in a mood of hope and euphoria after Brundisium.

Meliboeus wants to know the name of Tityrus' god, verse 18: "sed tamen iste deus qui sit da, Tityre, nobis." But Tityrus doesn't tell him; rather he changes the subject, verses 19-20: "urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboe, putavi / stultus ego huic nostrae similem . . ." Ancient readers noticed this and were puzzled. "Quaeritur cur de Caesare interrogatus Romam describat" — so Servius, and the reasons he offers have not been much improved on. Why is Octavian (Caesar) not named? The reason is implied, it seems to me, in Wissowa's¹³ discussion of the proem to the *Georgics*. Once Octavian's position had been assured, it was all but inevitable that he should be described in terms of Hellenistic ruler-worship. But Octavian, unlike his great-uncle, was wary of such adulation: here was a problem. For over a hundred years pro-consuls in the East had been paid divine honors:¹⁴ a subservient people merely transferred the language and gestures of ruler-worship from ruler to ruler, from Greek potentate to Roman magistrate. But not in the West, where there was no such tradition or practice. Wissowa points out that in the second part of the proem to the *Georgics*, where Virgil addresses Octavian in such language, the context is entirely Greek, verses 24-31:

tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
concilia incertum est, urbesne inuisere, Caesar,
terrarumque uelis curam, et te maximus orbis
auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
accipiat cingens materna tempora myrto,
an deus immensi uenias maris ac tua nautae
numina sola colant, tibi seruiat ultima Thule,
teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis.

There are no Roman features here, except for the name Caesar, because the attitude expressed is profoundly un-Roman. For the opposite reason, I suggest, Octavian (Caesar) is not named in the *First Eclogue*, the most Roman of all the *Eclogues*.¹⁵ Had Virgil- or Tityrus-named his

¹³ *Hermes* 52 (1917) 92-104.

¹⁴ See M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griech. Religion*, II (1961) 384-388; and Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965) 112-121.

¹⁵ See F. Leo, *Hermes* 38 (1903) 1-13. The name *Roma* occurs only in this *Eclogue*, verses 19 and 26.

god, he would have offended Roman sensibility; and Virgil's poetic tact is exquisite.¹⁶

Some years had passed since the land confiscations, years during which Virgil was meditating his book. His consulship over, Pollio went off to govern Macedonia for Antony; Virgil met Maecenas, and Octavian. His attitude changed, whether gradually or suddenly. To confound present feeling with the past is only human; yet Virgil does not forget the anguish of those years. Otherwise his gratitude would mean little, and his enthusiasm seem extravagant. Now, finally, he can represent that experience in pastoral terms, and "Tityri sub persona" consider Octavian as savior and god.

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¹⁶ Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II (1931) 429: "Aber in dem Menschen einen Gott zu sehen hat sich das römische Gefühl immer gestraut . . . Augustus hat die Versuche unterdrückt, in ihm einen *vēos* Ἐρμῆς oder einen anderen Gott inkarniert zu sehen, ein Gedanke, mit dem Horaz gespielt hatte; Vergils frühe Huldigung *deus nobis haec otia fecit* wird durch *namque erit ille mihi semper deus* eingeschränkt." See also A. D. Nock, *JHS* 48 (1928) 31 n. 51.

CIL X, 1792: A MUNICIPAL NOTABLE OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE

J. H. D'ARMS

CIL X, 1792, is one of a collection of more than three hundred Latin inscriptions acquired early in this century by the University of Michigan from Giuseppe De Criscio, a local antiquarian who lived in Pozzuoli on the Bay of Naples. Most of the texts — though by no means all — had been published by the time they reached Ann Arbor: De Criscio had made his collection available to Theodore Mommsen during that scholar's preparation of the tenth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.¹ Acquired casually by its owner over the course of many years, the De Criscio collection is heterogeneous; although the stones originated in the ancient municipalities along the coast between Misenum and Naples, neither exact find spots nor general archaeological contexts were recorded. Michigan accession number 817 (= *CIL* X, 1792) is merely described as having been "found at Pozzuoli"; it is an inscription in monumental lettering (see plate I) on two rectangular pieces of Luna marble, whose combined dimensions (in meters) are $2.20 \times 0.615 \times 0.025$. The stone, broken during transatlantic travel, is in a generally poor state of preservation: the first C and N of the initial line are damaged, and the O of the second line is largely lost.² The text, however, is completely legible. The monumental size of the inscription, the thinness of the panels, the absence of moldings and the high

¹ *CIL* X, p. 189, xxxvii (Mommsen and De Criscio). It has not been thought practicable to list here by *CIL* numbers the one hundred fifty-five Michigan inscriptions originally published in the 10th volume of the *Corpus*. Sixty-seven inscriptions in De Criscio's collection were edited after the publication of *CIL* X by W. Dennison ("Some New Inscriptions from Puteoli, Baiae, Misenum and Cumae," *AJA* 2 [1898] 373-398); thirty-four were published in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VIII (Berlin 1899); presently, other unedited texts in the Michigan collection are being prepared by the present writer for publication in a different place.

² There is also considerable surface damage, in the form of shallow cuts and scratches; one such cut appears over the second E in *refecit*, and was interpreted by Mommsen, probably wrongly, as an apex. (I should like here to express my appreciation of the careful work on the inscription's lettering by my student, Maureen E. Fant, who first noticed the parallels with two of the Roman texts discussed below, p. 208.)

visibility of the lettering indicate that the stone was set into the exterior of a building, probably above the entrance.

C(aius) Avianius C(aii) f(ilius) C(aii) n(epos)
Flaccus duo vir refecit.

It is difficult to specify an exact date for the inscription on the basis of letter forms; individual letters which are most chronologically revealing (M, P, B) do not occur, and the O is about three-quarters lost. Nevertheless, the overall quality of the lettering conforms closely with the characteristics of the public inscriptions of the Augustan Age. Parallels from the city of Rome provide reasonably certain confirmation: the inscription on the arch of the restored aqueducts crossing Via Tiburtina in Rome, dateable to 5 B.C.,³ exhibits the same squarish, block-like quality of lettering; the first line is executed in larger letters than its successors, in almost exactly the same proportions (3:2) as lines one (.018) and two (.012) of the Avianius inscription. Common stylistic features are most evident in the word *refecit*, which appears in both examples — noteworthy is the spacing of the letters R-E and C-I. Further, the use, and occasional omission, of serifs, as well as the attempts at shading, are consistent in both. Other similarities are the slightly truncated middle bar of the E's, the faint, elegant curve at the end of the diagonal of the R's, and the lack of graceful integration at the point where the vertical joins the upper horizontal bar of the C's.⁴ Another close Roman parallel, also of 5 B.C., is to be found on the architrave of the aediculum of the Compitum Acili,⁵ and the inscription in the Roman forum honoring Lucius Caesar, erected in 2 B.C.⁶ also shows palaeographical features in common with those in the Michigan inscription: the L's carry short horizontals, as do the E's (in the middle

³ CIL VI, 1244. For a photograph, see E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (2nd ed.) I 49 (hereafter cited as "Nash, PDAR²").

⁴ In both inscriptions, the diagonal stroke of the R originates from the loop, rather than from the vertical; this feature became more regular in the latter part of the first century B.C.: see A. E. and J. S. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions* (California 1957) 113 (hereafter cited as *Contributions*). For the squarish C, cf. *ibid.* 100. On the careful spacing and arrangement of lettering in Augustan inscriptions, see A. E. Gordon, *Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Épigraphie* (Paris 1953), 195-199; *Contributions* 149ff.

⁵ *L'Année Épigraphique* 1964, 74; photo in Nash, PDAR² I 291. Observe that in the R of *Caesare*, the diagonal stroke begins from the vertical; that of *trib(unicia)* from the loop.

⁶ CIL VI, 36908; photo in Nash, PDAR² II 244.

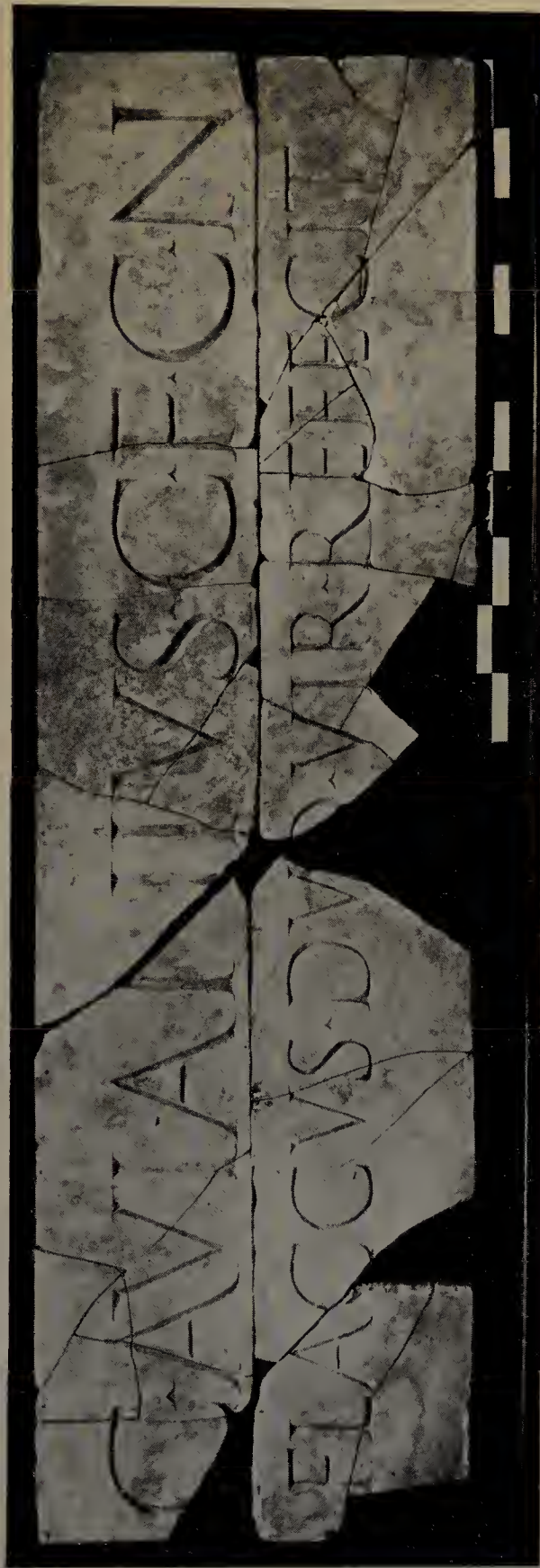


PLATE I. *CIL* X, 1792. Rule = 1 meter (in divisions of 10 centimeters).

bar); and the squarish, shaded C recurs. While it is true that epigraphical styles varied notoriously in the *municipia*, and that monumental inscriptions in Rome are scarcely infallible chronological guides to local developments in lettering,⁷ Puteoli constitutes a special case: her ties with Augustan Rome were manifold and particularly close, and there is thus good reason to believe that epigraphical developments in the capital were promptly reflected in the public inscriptions of that great commercial city on the Bay of Naples.⁸ A date of approximately 5 B.C. for CIL X, 1792, is entirely reasonable; it is suggested not only by the epigraphical parallels adduced above, but also by Ciceronian evidence bearing on the identity of C. Avianius Flaccus. To a consideration of this evidence we may now turn.

II

Mommsen, in his note on CIL X, 1792, took the essential first step; he cited the C. Avianius of Puteoli, mentioned as a *familiaris* of Cicero in the *Academica*.⁹ Other Ciceronian references, however, provide additional information about him, prove conclusively that he cannot be identified with the Avianius of the inscription, and suggest a more likely candidate. Cicero's friend, too, bore the cognomen Flaccus;¹⁰ and the natural presumption from the passage in the *Academica*, that he was a person of prominence in Puteoli, is confirmed and clarified by a letter of 53 B.C., written some eight years after the dramatic date of the *Academica*: he had influential connections with Roman officials and was profitably engaged in the sale and transportation of grain, one of the

⁷ On local fashions in lettering, see J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (London 1952) 5-6; and, in general, the firm remarks of J. M. Reynolds, "Inscriptions and Roman Studies 1910-1960," *JRS* 50 (1960) 204-205.

⁸ While the fact that the inscription is on Luna marble cannot of course be taken as independent evidence for an Augustan date, it may be observed that the marble from those quarries, exploited first by Julius Caesar, was first regularly employed in monumental inscriptions during the Augustan Age: Strab. 5.2.5; Pliny *NH* 36.14, 135; A. Degrassi, *Scritti Vari di Antichità I* (Rome 1962) 191, 658.

⁹ Cic. *Acad. Pr.* 2.80 (the dramatic setting is the villa of Hortensius at Bauli): *O praeclarum prospectum! Puteolos videmus: at familiarem nostrum C. Avianum, fortasse in porticu Neptuni ambulantiem, non videmus.*

¹⁰ Cic. *ad fam.* 13.35.1: *C. Avianius Philoxenus antiquus est hospes meus et praeter hospitium valde etiam familiaris . . . nomen autem Aviani secutus est, quod homine nullo plus est usus quam Flacco Aviano, meo, quam ad modum te scire arbitror, familiarissimo.*

major sources of wealth in late Republican Puteoli.¹¹ By 46 B.C. he was dead: this is quite clear from the first sentence, and subsequent tone, of a letter¹² in which Cicero goes on to urge Aulus Allienus, in Sicily as proconsul, to promote the commercial interests of Avianius' two sons, Gaius and Marcus, described by Cicero as his *necessarii*.

Now, since Cicero's friend was dead by 46, clearly the C. Avianius Flaccus of the Michigan inscription cannot be the same man: the palaeographical evidence for the inscription's date decisively precludes such an identification. But neither is it likely that the man named in the inscription is C. Avianius the son of Cicero's friend. For the natural inference from Cicero's letter is that the younger Avianii had inherited their father's profitable mercantile interests: on a conservative estimate, therefore, C. Avianius the elder son will have been in his mid-twenties in 46 B.C., which would place him in his mid-sixties in 6 B.C. That is hardly an appropriate age for a first election to the duovirate, particularly during the Augustan period, when the office was highly prized and attractive as a mark of status; it is much more reasonable to suppose that a man of local standing could expect election approximately *suo anno*, at the age of either 30 or 25.¹³ And equally clearly, C. Avianius the duovir would have been a man of standing, not an arriviste. His immediate ancestors had connections with members of Rome's governing classes, and were in addition, as successful men of business, representatives of precisely that sector of society which comprised Puteoli's political elite.¹⁴ These considerations, in my view, prompt the

¹¹ *Ad. fam.* 13.74.1-2 (C. Avianius Flaccus and the grain trade). The dramatic date of the *Academica* falls between 63 (Cicero's consulship is mentioned in 2.62) and 60, the year of Catulus' death.

¹² *Ad. fam.* 13.79: *Et te scire arbitror quanti fecerim C. Avianium Flaccum, et ego ex ipso audiveram, optimo et gratissimo homine quam a te liberaliter esset tractatus. Eius filios dignissimos illo patre meosque necessarios, quos ego unice diligo, commendo tibi sic, ut maiore studio nullos commendare possim. C. Avianius in Sicilia est, Marcus est nobiscum . . .* Cf. Klebs, *RE* 2, 2373 (no. 6).

¹³ By the time of Domitian a candidate could seek the office of duovir at the age of 25: *Lex municipii Malacitani*, ch. 54 (= *ILS*, 6089); 30 is the earliest age specified by the *Lex Julia Municipalis* (ch. 89; *ILS*, 6085). It has been plausibly argued that the earlier age was instituted as a result of the policy of Augustus: see Cass. Dio 52.20.1f, and Liebenam, art. "Duoviri," *RE* 5, 1807-1808. At the end of the first century A.D. a trierarch's son had been duovir either at Misenum or Puteoli before his death in his twenty-fifth year: J. E. Dunlap, "A New Inscription from Puteoli," *AJA* 33 (1929) 393ff.

¹⁴ On the principal families of Puteoli, see Ch. Dubois, *Pouzzoles Antique* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 98), Paris, 1907, pp. 44ff; M. W. Frederiksen, art. "Puteoli," *RE* 23, 2050-2051.

conclusion that the C. Avianius Flaccus of the inscription belongs to a later generation; he was the son of the C. Avianius whom Cicero commended to Aulus Allienus in 46 B.C., and grandson of the person mentioned by Cicero in the *Academica*. On the assumption that he was approximately thirty in 6 B.C., he will have been born in or near 36.

Cicero, however, knew and often mentions other Avianii; one must therefore confront the question of their possible relationships with the persons just discussed before proceeding to consider the historical consequences of the identification of the duovir. In three of his letters,¹⁵ Cicero shows that he is on friendly terms with a certain M. Aemilius Avianius — at least, the man's cognomen is generally taken to be Avianius — and mentions also two of the man's freedmen, C. Avianius Evander and C. Avianius Hammonius. But the cognomen of Aemilius is highly suspicious: as is well known, it was standard Roman practice for the adopted man to assume the praenomen and nomen of his adopter, preserving his own name in the form of a cognomen, with the addition of suffix *-anus*. Now, this M. Aemilius was certainly born a C. Avianius: that is absolutely clear from his two freedmen's names, for ex-slaves, at the time of manumission, regularly received Roman names and assumed, as in adoption, their praenomina and nomina from their former masters. If C. Avianius was adopted by a M. Aemilius, his cognomen ought to have been not Avianius but Avianianus. So, in fact, it was: it has been demonstrated recently by a careful examination of the manuscript evidence for the cognomen that Avianianus should indeed be read; *codex Mediceus* at *ad fam.* 13.27.2 actually preserves the correct form of the name (Avianiani).¹⁶

Herewith, therefore, another C. Avianius, and a C. Avianius, moreover, whose adoption must have taken place by 50 B.C., but who must have reached adult status considerably earlier, for his freedmen's activities are documented some ten years before.¹⁷ That is to say, a C. Avianius who must have been a very near contemporary of the C. Avianius of Puteoli mentioned in the *Academica*, grandfather, on our reckoning, of the Augustan duovir. Can he be closely connected with

¹⁵ *Ad fam.* 13.2 (50 B.C.); 13.21 (46 B.C.); 13.27 (46 B.C.).

¹⁶ D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* N.S. 5 (1958-59) p. 15. The article has not had the attention which it deserves; c.f., e.g., S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the late Republic* (Oxford 1969) 136ff, where the name appears as M. Aemilius Avianius.

¹⁷ 50 B.C.: Cic. *ad fam.* 13.2 (to C. Memmius, then in exile): C. Avianio Evandro, qui habitat in tuo sacrario, et ipso multum utor et patrono eius M. Aemilio familiarissime. . . . For the earlier activities of the freedman, see nn. 19 and 20, below.

the C. Avianii Flacci who are the chief subject of this investigation? No. The hypothesis that he is to be identified with Cicero's Puteolan friend can be firmly rejected, for the evidence of the letters shows that he was active in 46 B.C., established at Sicyon west of Corinth, and active in a business which probably included trade in, and possibly the manufacture of, works of art.¹⁸ The activities of his two freedmen, furthermore, were similarly localized in the East: Cicero bought Greek statues from C. Avianius Evander in 61,¹⁹ and refers to important services performed on his behalf by C. Avianius Hammonius *molestissimis temporibus*,²⁰ which phrase surely refers to the days of Cicero's exile during 58. Considerations of chronology weigh equally heavily also against an identification with the son of Cicero's Puteolan friend, for the adoption by Aemilius had occurred by 50 B.C., and, as has been seen, Cicero refers to the son of Flaccus as C. Avianius four years later, in 46.²¹

It will be wisest, in these circumstances, to abandon the hypothesis that there were ties of direct linear descent between these Avianii, and to presume instead that the Sicyonian M. Aemilius Avianianus²² came

¹⁸ Cic. *ad fam.* 13.21.1-2. See in general Klebs, *RE* 1, 547-548 (no. 30): S. Treggiari (above, n. 16) 136-137.

¹⁹ *Ad fam.* 7.23.1-2 (to M. Fabius Gallus, 61 B.C.). C. Avianius Evander, a notable sculptor, traveled widely during his lengthy and remarkable career; M. Antonius transported him to Alexandria, whence he returned to Rome as a prisoner after Actium, and restored a head of a statue of Diana by Timotheus in the temple of Apollo Palatinus: Horace, *Sat.* 1.3.91 and Porphyry. Schol. *ad loc.*; Pliny, *NH* 36.32; and see further S. Treggiari (above, n. 16) 136-138.

²⁰ *Ad fam.* 13.21.2.

²¹ *Ad fam.* 13.79 (quoted above, n. 12). It is, perhaps, worth noting that among the *inscriptiones falsae* in *CIL* X, Mommsen included the following text (*CIL* X *709): C. avianius m. aemili l. evander; he impugned its authenticity on the grounds that the *nomina* of patron and freedman ought to be identical. But that need not be the case if (and Cicero's explicit testimony shows that this is the situation here) the ex-slave had won his freedom before his former master had passed into another family through adoption (so also Klebs, *RE* 1, 548 [no. 30]). Rather, it is the orthography of the first nomen which tells against the inscription's authenticity. Avianus as nomen — the late fabulist is a questionable exception — is attested nowhere else in Latin literature or in inscriptions; but, significantly, it is the reading of *codex Mediceus* at *ad fam.* 13.21.1. Here is a patent instance of an epigraphical forgery based on a text of Cicero whose editor had adopted the reading Avianus. That the inscription comes from "Cicero country" (the modern Rocca d'Arce in central Latium) is further reason for suspicion.

²² It has not been possible to identify the M. Aemilius who adopted C. Avianius by 50 B.C.; the nomen Aemilius in the late Republic was common and enjoyed wide geographical distribution. Neither of the two most notable homonymous Romans of the day — M. Aemilius Lepidus (*cos.* 46) and M.

from a collateral line of the Campanian Avianii, one of whose members had emigrated from Italy, perhaps during the great economic boom in the late second century B.C.,²³ and settled permanently in the East. This need not mean that all contacts between the two branches of the Avianii subsequently ceased: indeed, that is scarcely conceivable, given the nature of the families: both sought their livelihood in overseas commercial markets, and both had settled in or near the great ports, respectively, of Italy and Greece. It is far more likely that their similar interests merged on a number of occasions and in a number of ways: familial, political, and economic ties were doubtless maintained. And it would be only reasonable to assume, also, that the large numbers of both Aemilii and Avianii whose names recur in the inscriptions of Puteoli reflect those continuing ties between branches of the family.²⁴ If that is so, one of the epitaphs from Puteoli²⁵ acquires a more than routine interest: a certain Decimus Avianius, an illegitimate child, set up a sepulchral monument for his parents and, interestingly, for a friend who bears the name P. Aemilius Firmus: when we recall the adoption of C. Avianius by M. Aemilius the collocation of nomina in this inscription may not be entirely fortuitous.

III

The collateral line of the C. Avianii has detained us long enough; it is now possible to return to C. Avianius Flaccus, Puteolan duovir, whom I have identified as the grandson of Cicero's *familiaris* first mentioned

Aemilius Scaurus (praetor 56) — is a likely candidate: there are no clear signs of connection between either man and M. Aemilius Avianianus; nor is it plausible that these scions of great patrician families would be moved to compromise their *dignitas* through an adoptive link with a *vir municipalis* engaged in commerce.

²³ See now A. J. N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester 1966) 85–126; no Avianius is, however, explicitly attested among the known *negotiatores*.

²⁴ The index of nomina in CIL X includes 83 Aemilii, of whom roughly a quarter were assigned by Mommsen to Puteoli; of the 24 Avianii nearly all are Puteolani. Observe also that the Avianii Flacci of Puteoli extended their local influence through adoption: L. Avianius Flaccus Pontianus was duovir at Pompeii in an unknown year (CIL X, 1064 = ILS, 5382; on which see G. O. Onorato, *Iscrizioni Pompeiane* [Firenze 1957] 139 [no. 58]).

²⁵ CIL X, 2135. I have been unable to procure a photograph of the stone, but the indications of filiation and the lack of the abbreviated heading D.M. (of which the earliest known dated example is from A.D. 58 [CIL VI, 7303]: see A. Degrassi, *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruz. Class.* N.S. 37 [1959] p. 213), combine to suggest a Julio-Claudian date.

in the *Academica*. If this identification is accepted — and even on the hypothesis that the inscription names instead the great grandson of Cicero's friend, which remains a possibility which cannot be entirely excluded — this combination of epigraphical and literary testimony has wider historical implications of some consequence: it permits a glimpse of a wealthy commercial family of late Republican Puteoli which survived the uncertainties and harassment of the Civil Wars to emerge prosperous and prominent in the Augustan age. The later phase of this process has, indeed, come to be more generally understood; it is now recognized that Puteolani such as the Calpurnii, Hordeonii, and Vestorii benefited personally from the Augustan policies which fostered local prosperity in the early Empire, and especially from the imperial control of the *annona*, which included transport of grain from Alexandria direct to Puteoli.²⁶ More obscure, however, are the immediate antecedents of these early Augustan families, and partially in consequence historians have neglected to consider the various effects — political, social, and economic — of nearly twenty years of civil war on Puteoli and other important commercial *municipia*.

The Avianii Flacci, let it be repeated, emerged from these difficult years unscathed. Politically, that must have required diplomacy and tact. We know that the duovirate was suspended at Ostia, Italy's other great port city, during 49 B.C.: Meiggs has, surely rightly, interpreted that evidence to mean that men in Ostia were divided as to whether to support Pompey or Caesar.²⁷ There is, unfortunately, no comparable epigraphical documentation from Campania. But Cicero's letters throw out numerous hints, which cumulatively acquire considerable force. Pompey, Cicero shows, was in the cities on the Bay of Naples in 50, attempting to enlist support for the "Republican" cause.²⁸ There are signs, too, that Caesar's agents were equally active in the area, with the result that members of the municipal aristocracy eventually threw in their lot with Caesar: A. Granius Puteolanus (the *gens* is one of the earliest known and most prominent in Roman Puteoli) died on Caesar's side at Dyrrachium in 45.²⁹ After the formation of the second trium-

²⁶ On all this see M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*², p. 562 (n. 18); M. W. Frederiksen, art. "Puteoli," *RE* 23, 2048; J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge Mass. 1970) 81-82.

²⁷ R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford 1960) 38-39.

²⁸ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.86; *ad Att.* 7.2.5; Plut. *Pomp.* 57; cf. Juv. 10.283-285; Vell. Pat. 2.48.2.

²⁹ A. Granius Puteolanus; Caes. *BCiv.* 3.71; and cf., for the family, Dubois (above, n. 14), p. 49. Caesar's agents in Puteoli in 49: Cic. *ad Att.* 10.4.8; cf. also *ad Att.* 10.13.1.

virate in 43, and when Sextus Pompeius made Sicily his base and conducted raids along the Italian coast in the early thirties, it is significant that Agrippa and Octavian concentrated their naval defenses at Lake Avernus, close to Puteoli:³⁰ that shows a sensitivity to the importance of providing protection for the harbor which was the center of Rome's overseas trade. Surely the Avianii, with shipping interests in Sicily at stake, will have watched these developments with anxiety and apprehension. And later, when the final struggle between Octavian and Antony had become inevitable, the question as to whom to support will have posed problems for the Avianii — both branches, Greek and Italian — and for other local notables: with Antony posing as champion of the East, to which Puteoli's traders chiefly looked for their profits, it can hardly have been a foregone conclusion that Octavian would manage to extract the oath of loyalty from the local senate at Puteoli. "What Ostia needed above all was security on the seas and settled conditions at home. Who was more likely to provide them quickly?"³¹ Puteoli's needs were similar to those of Ostia, and no less acute.

Octavian was shrewd; he is bound to have given his assurances that Puteoli's overseas markets would be respected. It is in this political light that some of his chief Campanian policies — aqueducts, benefactions, naval installations at Misenum³² — are to be interpreted. Observe also that some of these measures are datable to the triumviral period, before Actium³³ — clear indication that Octavian was concerned to secure the allegiance of the Campanian cities before the final struggle. Little wonder, then, that prosperous Puteolani in the Augustan Age had just cause for gratitude to the emperor, stimulator of international commerce, and, in consequence, guarantor of local prosperity. One influential citizen, active in Eastern markets, donated a temple to Augustus.³⁴ It is not known what public building C. Avianius Flaccus rebuilt as duovir, but highly probable that also in his case public

³⁰ On *Portus Iulius*, constructed in 37 B.C., see now R. F. Paget, "The Ancient Ports of Cumae," *JRS* 58 (1968) 159-169. Sex. Pompeius: Cass. Dio 48.36.1-38.1; App. *BCiv.* 5.72-73; Miltner, *RE* 21, 2225ff.

³¹ R. Meiggs (above, n. 27) 38.

³² Augustus' Campanian policies are discussed in detail in my *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (above, n. 26) 79-83.

³³ Notably, the huge Serino aqueduct, *Aqua Augusta*: I. Sgobbo, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1938, pp. 75-97; A. Maiuri, "Virgilio e Nola," *Quaderni di Studi Romani* 4 (1939) 7-9. The *Aqua Iulia* at Capua belongs to the same period: Cass. Dio 49.14.5.

³⁴ L. Calpurnius: *CIL* X, 1613; cf. also *CIL* X, 1631 (the family gave its name to a *vicus* in Puteoli), and *CIL* X, 1797 (trade with the East).

generosity was made possible by personal profits — profits attendant upon the restored Republic.³⁵

In the end, as Rostovtzeff has stressed, the social and economic position of Italy as a whole did not greatly alter as a result of civil war.³⁶ Such historical generalizations, however, have their drawbacks: they have tended to discourage analyses of particular municipalities like Puteoli, a chief economic artery, where the stresses of civil war are likely to have been unusually acute. Hence the importance of the C. Avianii Flacci, whose three generations spanned most of the first century before Christ, culminating in an election to the duovirate in the Augustan period: they provide welcome evidence of the stability of social, political and economic patterns through a period of intense national and local crisis.

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³⁵ Attested public monuments in Augustan Puteoli included a small amphitheater (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1915, pp. 409ff); an *horologium* (*CIL* X, 1617); breakwater (*CIL* X, 1640-1641); and possibly the *chalcidicum Suettianum*, attested in an unpublished inscription (accession no. 1590) in the Michigan collection. Wax tablets found near Pompeii in 1959 are supplying fresh information concerning personalities, monuments, and topography in Puteoli during the Julio-Claudian period: see A. Degrassi, *Mem. della Accad. Naz. Lincei*, 8th series, vol. 14 (1969), 139-140; C. Giordano, *RAAN* N.S. 45 (1970), 221-223.

³⁶ Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*² (Oxford 1957) 30.

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF JUVENAL AND THE OXFORD LINES

GEORG LUCK

IN his Oxford text of Persius and Juvenal, Wendell V. Clausen prints without brackets the lines preserved after Juv. 6.365 and 6.373 in the Oxoniensis Bodl. Canon. 41, eleventh or twelfth century. He thinks it possible that Juvenal revised his satires to some extent, although he does not subscribe to Friedrich Leo's theory of a double *recensio*.¹

On the whole, scholars seem more inclined today than they were thirty years ago to accept these lines as genuine. The case built against them by scholars like U. Knoche² and B. Axelson³ can hardly be called valid; the main arguments designed to prove that the lines were spurious have been summarized and dealt with effectively by Gilbert Highet.⁴

I believe that Juvenal wrote these lines. The puzzling fact remains that they survive only in a single manuscript of average quality. Several attempts have been made to explain the circumstances of their transmission, but none is really satisfactory. I should like to propose a new one.

Soon after Winstedt's discovery of the O lines, von Winterfeld⁵ pointed out that both *Codex Pithoeanus* and the Aarau fragments have 29 lines to the page. He assumed that the archetype had the same number of lines. Thus, O 1-29 would correspond to a page of the archetype. When this page was lost, the lines immediately following — i.e. O 30-34, became unintelligible and were modified. The "Doublette" 347-348, preserved in O and in the main tradition, was the result of the same process.

Housman found this explanation attractive and used it as the basis

¹ Clausen, Praef. xiii; on Leo's views (*Hermes* 44, [1909] 600ff) cf. H. Emonds, "Zweite Auflage im Altertum," in *Klass.-Phil. Stud.* 14 (1941) 9 n. 23, and 351; and see below 87.

² U. Knoche, *Philologus* 23 (1938) 196-217.

³ B. Axelson, *ΔΡΑΓΜΑ* Martin P. Nilsson ded. (Lund: H. Ohlssons, Boktryckeri 1939) 41-55.

⁴ G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford Paperbacks 1962) 336.

⁵ P. von Winterfeld, *BPW* 19 (1899) 793 and *GGA* (1899) 895-897.

of his own hypothesis;⁶ in fact, he called his own and von Winterfeld's joint theory "absolutely perfect."⁷ It has two serious weaknesses, however: first, it does not account for the fact that O presents both versions, the "original" and the "interpolation" which was designed, according to these two scholars, to replace the "original." Second, it fails to explain the curious fact that a page got lost.

More recently, J. G. Griffith⁸ has tried a different approach. Since all our manuscripts of Juvenal break off in the middle of a sentence at 16.60, he thinks it highly probable that only one copy of Juvenal's *Satires* survived the centuries of the Late Empire. At the time of Juvenal's death the text would have been preserved on a scroll, and from the scroll, perhaps around A.D. 300, it would have been transcribed into a codex. This was the time when, according to Griffith, the O lines (the long passage) came to be omitted, "whether for reasons of prudery or other causes cannot be known." The longer passage could have reached Monte Cassino, where O was probably written ("interesting things happened at Monte Cassino"), through an "anthology or similar document."

Griffith then argues that O 1-34 should be inserted after 345, not after 365 where O has them. This is almost certainly true, partly for the reasons which he gives (pp. 111-113), partly for a reason which I shall suggest below. The idea itself, however, is not new; it was submitted over fifty years ago, by S. G. Owen,⁹ though it found little or no response.

Apart from this rediscovery of a forgotten idea, the principle of Griffith's explanation seems odd. It is hardly conceivable that lines which were omitted, e.g., for reasons of prudery, by one person, were then included in an anthology by another, and from that anthology put back into the text by a third. Every new step raises new questions which have to be answered. The problem is not solved, and we are back at the beginning.

I think we can reconstruct the manuscript from which O was copied, to some extent. Let us call it O*. Although the text of O is, on the whole, not remarkable, it agrees surprisingly often with P and R (Parisinus 8072).¹⁰ We have seen that certain conclusions were drawn from the

⁶ A. E. Housman, *CR* 15 (1901) 264.

⁷ Cf. Axelson, *ΔΡΑΓΜΑ* 52.

⁸ J. G. Griffith, *Hermes* 91 (1963) 104ff.

⁹ S. G. Owen, *CR* 13 (1899) 267.

¹⁰ From Clausen's apparatus I quote the following instances: 1,21 *ac* P R O; 68 *fecerit* P S R O multi; 86 *farrago libelli est* P R A O U; 110 *ne* P R O alii; 114 *habitat* P R O alii; 150 *dices* P R O; 156 *pectore* (pro *guttore*) P R A O; 2.34

number of lines in P (see above), but it was a mistake to think in terms of a lost page, and the number 29 did not provide a clear solution. Is it possible that R, which contains parts of Juvenal in a hand of the tenth century gives us the clue? This important witness seems to descend ultimately from the same lost manuscript as P, the Sangallensis 870 (saec. IX) and the Aarau fragments. It has only very few scholia itself but derives probably from a fully annotated manuscript.¹¹

Let us assume that in the manuscript from which R ultimately descends, the titles of Book 1 and Satire 1 were written at the bottom of a page, and that the next page began with [1.1] "Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam . . ."

Wendell Clausen has drawn attention to this peculiar arrangement found in ancient manuscripts¹² and has suggested that the Persius part of P was copied from a codex in which the first leaf had become detached in the ninth century. I should like to apply this to the Juvenal text as well and to suggest that R derives from an ancient manuscript which distributed titles and text at the beginning in the same way.

Moreover, I believe that a *Vita* of the type that is found in some manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries (notably Leidens. Voss. 64; Parisinus 9345, *olim* Cluniacensis) preceded the text of Juvenal and occupied, together with the titles, the first leaf. This may also be true for the text of Persius. If the lost leaf postulated by Clausen contained a biography in addition to the titles, the fact that neither P nor R has a *Vita* would be explained.

On fols. 94^v-97^v R preserves Juv. 1.1-2.66; on fols. 98^r-105^v Juv. 5.98-6.437; and on fols. 106^r-113^v Juv. 3.32-5.97. It becomes clear at once that the number 17 plays an important role in these portions.

If we count the lines from 1.1 to 2.66, adding one line for the title of Satire 2, the sum is 238 = 14 × 17. To 14 we add 2 for the pages which

omnia (pro *ultima*) P R O; 3.58 *nunc* P R V O; 82 *signabit* P R A O alii; 158 *iuvnesque* P R A O alii; 187 *istud* P R V O U; 210 *aerumnae est* (pro *aerumna*) P R A O Sang.; 214 *tum* P S R O Sang. alii; 227 *defunditur* (pro *diffunditur*) P S R O U; 246 *tignum* P R V G O; 259 *e* (pro *de*) P R V G O; 5.63 *rogatus* P R A O; 91 om. P R V U, ante 90 ponit O; 96 *patimur* P R O alii; 103 *iuventa* P R A O U; 123 *prostitit* P S R O; 146 *dicet* P R A O; 152 *sed* P R O U alii; 159 *nudo* (pro *mero*) P R O Arou.; 183 *diem* P R O A; 238 *silet* P R O; *ducit* P R A O U alii; 399 *possit* P S R K O. The agreement of P, R, and O is striking.

¹¹ P. Wessner (ed.), *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora* (Teubner 1931) xiv.

¹² Wendell V. Clausen, *Hermes* 91 (1963) 254, n. 3; cf. G. Luck, *Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte Ovids* (1969) 56.

presumably contained *Vita* and titles at the beginning, and we have 16 pages of 17 lines, or 8 leaves of 34 lines each.

The portion of the text that follows, 2.67–3.31, is missing in R. It includes $136 = 8 \times 17$ lines, or 4 leaves of 34 lines each. We arrive at these figures simply by counting the lines in Clausen's Oxford text; there are no lines in brackets so far.

The next portion preserved in R (3.32–5.97) is considerably longer and involves some controversial lines. Clausen brackets 3.113 (*del.* Pinzger), 3.281 (*del.* Heinecke), 4.8 (*del.* Jahn) and 5.66 (*del.* Heinrich). All of them, except 4.8, were also bracketed by Housman. Earlier editors have, of course, thrown out many more. Since all the lines bracketed by Housman and Clausen are explained in the "Scholia vetustiora," it seems safe to assume that they figured in the text of the archetype. Our hypothetical manuscript would have needed for this portion of the text 16 leaves of 34 lines ($544 \text{ lines} = 32 \times 17$).

The next portion (5.98–6.437) is, once more, preserved by R, but on a set of leaves immediately following those which have 1.1–2.66. Again, a number of controversial lines have to be examined. Clausen brackets 5.140 (*del.* Jahn), 6.126 (*om.* P R *plerique, alio loco habent nonnulli*), 6.188 (*om.* Gaybacensis II, Ulm., *del.* Barth), and 6.346–348 (*del.* M. Maas). Of these, 6.126 is clearly an intruder from the margin and must not be counted. The omission of 6.188 in two *deteriores*, however, does not mean too much; the line is explained in the "Scholia vetustiora." The question whether or not 6.346–348 should be omitted is closely connected with our main problem. We should remember that M. Maas threw them out because he saw in them a shorter version of O 30–34. This observation is no doubt correct, but different conclusions can be drawn from it. Housman did not bracket 5.140, and the line seems genuine to me, although the "Scholia vetustiora" do not take the trouble of explaining it. Omitting 6.126 only, we count 26×17 lines between 5.98 and 6.365, the beginning of the longer O passage which, taken by itself, consists of $34 = 2 \times 17$ lines.

No doubt, the sequence of preserved and lost portions in R can be explained by the assumption of a codex which had 34 lines on each leaf. In this codex, the longer O passage would have occupied a single leaf; the line immediately preceding it (6.365) would have been the last line of a leaf, but apparently not of a quire. The pattern of preserved and missing leaves at the beginning (8-4-16) seems to spell out the loss and transposition of quires.

From 6.366 to 6.437, where R breaks off definitively, we count 72 lines (omitting 373A and B), but 6.437 cannot be the last line of a page,

leaf, or quire. If our computation is correct, the quire would end with 467. This could mean that, when R was copied, fols. 41-44 were still extant, although only about half of fol. 44^r was legible, whereas fol. 44^v, being the last page of the quire, was badly worn. It may be significant that, between 6.437 and 6.467 the truth is preserved in one case only by a Renaissance manuscript (455 *castiget* Vat. Ottob. 1471, Ribbeck *ex coni.*: *castigat* P S ϕ), and in another only by P and a Renaissance manuscript (442 *nemo aera* P Norimb. 6.19: *atque aera* ϕ).

Let us now tabulate the results. We have attempted the reconstruction of an ancient manuscript of Juvenal, damaged and incomplete by the tenth century. This manuscript not only explains what might be called the "textual pattern" of R; it also explains the inclusion of the longer O passage, at the wrong place, in another witness.

I	{	fol. 1	:	<i>Vita Iuv., Tit. (Lib. I, Sat. 1)</i>	
		fol. 2 ^r	:	1.1-17	
		2 ^v	:	18-34	
		fol. 3 ^r	:	35-51	EXTANT
		3 ^v	:	52-68	
		fol. 4 ^r	:	69-85	
		4 ^v	:	86-102	

II	{	fol. 5 ^r	:	103-119	
		5 ^v	:	120-136	
		fol. 6 ^r	:	137-153	
		6 ^v	:	154-170	EXTANT
		fol. 7 ^r	:	171 <i>Tit. Sat. 2</i> 2.1-15	
		7 ^v	:	16-32	
		fol. 8 ^r	:	33-49	
		8 ^v	:	50-66	

III	{	fol. 9 ^r	:	67-83	
		9 ^v	:	84-100	
		fol. 10 ^r	:	101-117	
		10 ^v	:	118-134	MISSING
		fol. 11 ^r	:	135-151	
		11 ^v	:	152-168	
		fol. 12 ^r	:	169-170 <i>Tit. Sat. 3</i> 3.1-14	
		12 ^v	:	15-31	

IV-VII	{	fol. 13 ^r :	32-48	
		13 ^v :	49-65	
		fol. 14 ^r :	66-82	
		14 ^v :	83-99	
		fol. 15 ^r :	100-116	EXTANT
		15 ^v :	117-133	
		fol. 16 ^r :	134-150	
		16 ^v :	151-167 etc.	
		fol. 28 ^r :	5.64-80	
		28 ^v :	81-97	(in v. 96 desinit Vindobon. 107, saec. IX)

VIII-XI	{	fol. 29 ^r :	98-114	
		29 ^v :	115-131	
		fol. 30 ^r :	132-148	
		30 ^v :	149-165	
		fol. 31 ^r :	166-6.7	
		31 ^v :	8-24	EXTANT
		fol. 32 ^r :	25-41	
		32 ^v :	42-58 etc.	
		fol. 40 ^r :	297-314	
		40 ^v :	315-331	
		fol. 41 ^r :	332-348 (critical signs next to 345, 349, 365)	
		41 ^v :	349-365	
		.	O 1-17 (on inserted leaf still in place when O* was copied)	
			O 18-34	
		fol. 42 ^r :	366-382 (373A and B in margin)	
		42 ^v :	383-399	
		fol. 43 ^r :	400-416	
		43 ^v :	417-433	
		fol. 44 ^r :	434-450 (only vv. 434-437 clearly legible when R or R* was copied)	
		44 ^v :	451-467	

The reconstruction suggested above would account for the following facts: 1) the loss of Juv. 2.67-3.31 in R; 2) the transposition of 5.98-6.437 between 2.26 and 3.32 in R; 3) the insertion of O 1-34 between 6.356 and 6.366 where they almost certainly do not belong.

If both R and O derive from such a manuscript we can make a guess at what happened: 1) the manuscript was still complete when O* was copied, the single leaf containing O 1-34 still in place between fols. 41 and 42; 2) by the time when R was copied, the binding had become loose, and only 10 biniones (fols. 1-8 and 13-44) were still extant. Biniones I and II (fols. 9-12) had disappeared, and in its place, biniones VIII-XI (fols. 29-44), the last leaf badly damaged, were inserted; they were followed by biniones IV-VII (fols. 13-28). The inserted leaf containing the O lines had also fallen out.

The lines O 1-34 were inserted on a single leaf at the only possible place, between fols. 41 and 42, a critical sign on fol. 41^r indicating that they should be read after 345. The scribe O* ignored the sign and continued from 345 to 346, from here to 365, and from this line (the last line on fol. 41^v) directly to O 1, the first line on the inserted leaf.

This may seem rather hypothetical, but R does, in fact, preserve a critical sign between 346 and 347. It has the shape F (which was interpreted by Wessner as "*hic*") and is accompanied by almost two whole lines from the O passage (32f):

qui nunc lascivae furta puellae
hac mercede silent? crimen commune tacetur.

What does this mean? An important manuscript of the tenth century, which has normally very few scholia, preserves at this crucial point a quotation from the longer O passage. Wessner thought the critical sign F should stand between 347 and 348; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that it points to 345, and that the brief quotation which follows is all that is left of a full note which included the whole passage O 1-34 and explained that these lines should be read after 345.¹³ The scholion, as it appears in R and elsewhere, preserves less than two lines from thirty-four and fails to indicate their function. It has lost its exact place in R, but only by a line or two. Owen's suspicions that the full O passage was meant to be inserted after 345, not after 365, are thus confirmed.

Two other facts which have puzzled editors of Juvenal can now be explained: both 349 and 365 are missing in some manuscripts. They are both indispensable, but 349 is the line before which the O passage should be inserted (instead of 346-348), and 365 is the line after which it actually appears in O. This may mean that critical signs were placed in the margin next to these two lines in the manuscript which we

¹³ Cf. Leo, *Hermes* 44 (1909) 602.

postulate. The signs were misunderstood by some scribes, and the lines were left out.

This may well be the solution to our problem. Since the scholia are probably excerpts from a comprehensive commentary, those two lines quoted in the scholion to 345 could be all that was left of the complete O fragment in the main tradition of Juvenal. If O preserves the full passage, it must derive it from that full commentary of the 4th century (?), Wessner's "*Commentum vetustum*," which was available to the scholar who compiled and edited *II*, the combination of text and scholia. At least one ancient reader of the manuscript from which O descends must have consulted the full commentary and copied the passage. Essentially, this was—at least for a while—U. Knoche's explanation who thought (*Hermes* 63 [1928] 356 n.2) that the O lines had their "*Überlieferungs-Stelle*" in a commentary or a similar work. He had found a curious transposition of 6.364 and 365 in two Gaddiani and concluded that there must have been a critical sign in the margin of their common archetype, probably pointing to the O lines. Later he seems to have abandoned this idea.

The text of Juvenal seems to have been transmitted, at least for a few centuries, in three strands: (a) text without notes; (b) a comprehensive commentary in the manner of Servius' commentary on Vergil, without the text itself (only lemmata); (c) a combination of (a) and (b), i.e. complete text, but only scholia excerpted from the full commentary.

For a while, these three strands developed independently side by side; but sooner or later the brief handy scholia must have superseded the bulky commentary which contained a good deal of information that the average reader did not care for. When the full commentary was no longer copied, this strand of the tradition vanished altogether, and all knowledge of the complete O passage might have been lost, because it had not been part of the archetype of (a), and less than two lines had been embodied in (b). But before the full commentary disappeared completely, a reader copied the O lines from it onto a leaf which he inserted into the manuscript which he was using (O*).

The accompanying stemma may illustrate the development of the three separate strands and the influence they had on each other. *II* designates the archetype of the text without notes and, of course, without the O lines. This must have been a careful scholarly edition. *Δ* is the archetype of the full commentary, later lost, which takes the text of its lemmata partly from the good tradition *II*, partly from "extravagant" editions, and its notes, as far as they do not represent the effort of a single mind, from what we may call the "learned tradition", *Θ*. I

suggest that the O lines were preserved by the learned tradition and thus became part of the full commentary. (There is a very similar case in Vergil, which we shall discuss below.) From the commentary, the O lines were copied *in extenso* by a reader of the manuscript from which O descends (O*). O* does not represent the best textual tradition. It was copied at least once before it lost the inserted leaf, and this copy (O**) must be the direct ancestor of O. In the course of time, O* disintegrated. The quires became detached, and some of them got lost; others were arranged in a wrong order; the inserted leaf between fols. 41 and 42 had fallen out. In the meantime, however, the text had been corrected after a manuscript of the II tradition, and the lines 373A and B, written in the margin of fol. 42^r were deleted, because they did not appear in the better text. Thus O*** is all that is left of O* in the tenth century when R was copied from it. It may be said that the codex itself has deteriorated, although the text has improved. This would explain the puzzling relationship between R and O: they seem quite close, and yet there are striking discrepancies.

The third strand, the combination of text and scholia, must have taken shape in the sixth century. Its archetype is designated in the stemma by π ; its text seems to be more closely related to the better textual tradition than that of Δ . A small part of the longer O fragment has been lifted from Δ , although the purpose of the quotation is no longer evident.

Needless to say, intermediate links are possible at every stage, except, perhaps, between O*** and R.

There is a similar case in the textual history of Vergil's *Aeneid* to which Leo¹⁴ has drawn attention: the "Helen-episode" (2.567-588). These 22 lines are preserved only in *Servius auctus* and a few late manuscripts of no independent value. They are missing in M, and since none of the older manuscript have them, it is not likely that they appeared in R. The problem of the "Helen-episode" has been discussed admirably by R. G. Austin.¹⁵

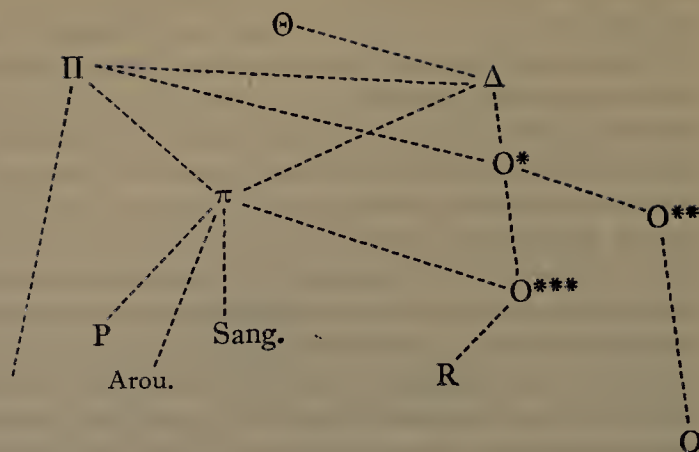
The similarity is obvious. We have two passages which are missing in the main textual tradition of a Latin poet. One is preserved as we know, in an ancient commentary and, from there, found its way into some late witnesses. We know that the passage was left out deliberately by the ancient editors, Varius and Tucca (*Servius' Preface*, ed. Harv. II.2), but we can only guess their reasons; *Servius' remark* "emendare

¹⁴ Ibid. 616.

¹⁵ R. G. Austin, *CR* 11 (1961) 185ff, and in his commentary on *Aen.* 2 (Oxford 1964) 217ff with a full bibliography.

saec.

III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII



STEMMA

ut superflua demerent," is not in itself clear. Why were these lines considered "superfluous?"

Following Austin's line of thought I have tried to show¹⁶ that, toward the end of the episode, in 2.583–587, three different versions of the same idea are closely interwoven. Three times Aeneas expresses the same idea: though it is no noble deed to kill a woman, Helen has deserved to die, and if he punishes her, he will not only earn praise but actually enjoy it. Three times he examines this course of action from the viewpoints of *dulce* and *honestum*, and three times he finds strong reasons for acting, but each time the phrasing is slightly different.

We know enough about Vergil's painstaking method of composition, his habit of rewriting single lines and whole passages, to recognize an unfinished piece from his workshop. Varius and Tucca were clearly unable to decide which of the three versions the poet would have preferred. They may have had other reasons for leaving out the passage altogether, but this is beside the point: the main point is the decision of the ancient editors (for any reasons whatsoever) to leave out a certain passage, and the fact that this passage is actually missing in the main textual tradition. And yet it was not completely lost, but preserved by the learned tradition.

I suggest that the same thing happened with the O passages. They were deleted at one point either by Juvenal himself, or by an ancient

¹⁶ G. Luck, *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 54f.

editor, and the archetype of the main textual tradition has lost them. They were, however, preserved by the learned tradition and, from there found their way into at least one later witness of the main textual tradition and (in a fragmentary form) into the mixed text-cum-scholia tradition.

We have two different versions of the same context in Juvenal — one shorter (346–348), one longer (O 1–34). In the tradition which is represented by all known manuscripts, except O, only the shorter version survives. O has both versions (the longer one, as we have seen, in the wrong place) without discriminating between them. R has a sign which possibly indicates that something should be inserted after 345. No manuscript, as far as we know, has the longer version alone.

This is the situation. We may, of course, include the O passage in the text and bracket 346–348, as Clausen does, but we should not forget that there is no manuscript authority for this. All manuscripts preserve the passage which we bracket, and only one manuscript of average quality preserves the longer version as well.

No doubt the authoritative ancient editor of Juvenal had rejected the O passage, just as Varius and Tucca had rejected the Helen-episode. Again, we can only guess the reasons. The poet himself may have marked the longer passage for deletion and replaced it by the shorter one. Both versions may have been found in his autograph by an editor, who then had to make a choice. Whether his reasons were valid or not, he made his choice, and as a result of it the O passage disappeared from the main tradition.

Soon after the discovery of the O lines, J. P. Postgate¹⁷ commented on the relationship between the two versions. He wrote:

The last five lines of the longer O passage call for special remark. It is to be observed that in substance they are identical with vi. 346 *sqq.*

audio quid ueteres olim moneatis amici:

“pone seram cohibe” (prohibe *P*); sed quis custodiet ipsos
custodes? cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor.

The other MSS. afford no traces of a double recension, but the scholion on 348 does. It runs (I quote Buecheler's edition) as follows “et ab illis incipit uxor ‘qui nunc lascivae furta puellae hac mercede silent crimen commune tacetur.’”

The scholion is now intelligible, and it bears a wholly independent witness to a second recension, and that is the recension embodied in our

¹⁷ J. P. Postgate, *CR* 13 (1899) 207f.

fragment. It is of course incredible that Juvenal intended both 346–348 and 30–34 to stand: and we must choose between them. And, assuming that the fragment is genuine, there can be no hesitation about the choice, for the version which it contains cannot be broken from its context, whereas vv. 346–8 are easily separable. The similarity of these two passages is of itself quite sufficient to account for the omission of these thirty-four verses in the archetype of the MSS. which have been known as a genuine product of antiquity will necessarily modify the stemma of the codices.

Postgate has seen that the scholion on 348 (which belongs to 346 or 349, as we have established) preserves a fragment of the whole O passage. Both the scholion (in R and elsewhere) and the whole O passage derive, I think, from the same source, a full commentary of the type represented by Servius. Postgate also made it clear that 346–348 and O 30–34 could not follow each other in the same context. Juvenal has written both, but perhaps at different times in his life.

A few years later, Leo felt that O 30–34 was a periphrastic interpretation of 346–348, less satisfactory from a stylistic point of view.¹⁸ At the same time, he saw that O 30–34 could not be separated from 1–29. He preferred the shorter version but thought it had lost its place. Indeed, the context 286–345 continues smoothly with O 1–29. But the O passage cannot be inserted before 366, as Leo suggested. He assumed that someone had wanted to replace O 1–34 by 346–348 and inserted those lines after 345, because this was the obvious place, even though a better one could have been found: “hier konnten die Verse eine Unterkunft finden, wenn sie auch nicht im eigentlichen Sinne passten.” But this is a weak spot in Leo’s argument. He has the impression that they do not “really” fit after 345 and guesses that someone else (but not the poet!) put them in that place. To him the three lines represent “eine nicht zu Ende geführte Umdichtung des Abschnitts.” If 346–348 represent “eine nicht zu Ende geführte Umdichtung des Abschnitts,” intended as an “Ersatz” for the whole O passage, it must have been put into the text by an editor to whom both versions were available.

This diagnosis led Leo to believe that there were two ancient editions of Juvenal. One of them, he thought, was not published by the poet himself, but by someone who had access to Juvenal’s autograph or to manuscript material left by the poet.

Leo then discussed a number of other passages involving textual problems of various kinds. He thought all of them could be explained by the assumption of two ancient editions of the text of Juvenal.

¹⁸ Leo (above, n. 13) 602.

There he seems to go too far. Another example, discussed by Leo,¹⁹ occurs in the same satire. After 614 G. Valla found in an "antiquissimus codex" and in Probus three lines which clearly disrupt the context at this point:

- 610 hic magicos affert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
philtrā, quibus valeat mentem vexare mariti
et solea pulsare natis. quod desipis, inde est,
inde animi caligo <est *addendum videtur*> et magna oblivio rerum
614 quas modo gessisti. tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
614A { semper aquam portes rimosa ad dolia, semper
614B { istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus urnis,
614C { quod (K U *alii*: quo *edd.*) rabidum (K *alii*: rabidus U *alii*) nostro
Phalarim de rege dedisti
615 et furere incipias ut avunculus ille Neronis,
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
617 infudit. quae non faciet quod principis uxor?
ardebant cuncta et fracta conpage ruebant
non aliter quam si fecisset Iuno maritum
620 insanum. minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae
boletus, siquidem unius praecordia pressit
ille senis tremulumque caput descendere iussit
in caelum et longa manantia labra saliva:
haec poscit ferrum atque ignes, haec potio torquet,
625 haec lacerat mixtos equitum cum sanguine patres.
tanti partus equae, tanti una venefica constat.

Verses 614A–C are also found, at this place, in U (early eleventh century) which is, according to Leo, closely related to G (= Putean. sive Parisin. 7900A, tenth century), as well as in some manuscripts inspected by Achaintre and Ruperti. They are found in the margin next to 614 in Londin. Mus. Brit. Add. 30861 (eleventh century). K (= Laur. 34.43, tenth century) has them in the text after 601, and Vat. Regin. 2029 "a manu secunda" in the margin at the level of 601. The three lines do not appear in P or in any other known manuscripts, including those inspected by Valla. They have obviously lost their place in the text, but this does not mean that they are spurious. No matter whether U is identical with Valla's "antiquissimus codex" or not, we are justified in considering the period *semper aquam portes . . . dedisti* as an entity; Valla clearly speaks of *tres versiculi*, and it is misleading to add, with Leo, at the beginning, *tamen hoc tolerabile, si non . . .* Leo and others have strangely misunderstood the three lines. They represent a curse

¹⁹ Ibid. 606f.

addressed to a lady who has done serious damage to the health of her husband: "May she suffer the fate of the Danaids who killed their husbands, carrying water in leaking urns to leaking vessels." This curse must be addressed to a woman, and since her husband is called *rex noster* she must be the wife of a Roman emperor. The words *principis uxor* (617) give us the clue we need; at this place the lines should be inserted. They had lost their place in the archetype and were written in the margin, probably between the level of 614 and that of 617. Hence the error of the later scribe who inserted them after 614. To sum up: the three lines, properly interpreted, make adequate sense and fit well after 617; they suggest, but do not prove a double *recensio* of Juvenal's *Satires*.

Leo also pointed out an apparent parallel in the textual history of Ausonius, but he may have been too much influenced by the pattern that O. Seeck had tried to establish.²⁰

Even if he knew as a fact that Juvenal's *Satires* were published posthumously, the basic flaw in Leo's argument remains. We cannot maintain — as he did — that 346–348 are more or less apt between 345 and 348 and conclude something from this; and then declare that, after all, they do not "really" fit here, in order to conclude something else from this. Finally, it must be said that the problem of the O lines is unique and cannot be compared to any other problem in the textual history of Juvenal.

Our table (see above) would explain an important fact: the O passages appear in one witness only, because they were inserted, at one time, in a codex which was subsequently copied at least once — perhaps only once. The longer passage was inserted on an extra leaf, the two lines after 373 appeared in the margin of a regular leaf. Both passages

²⁰ Though he did not mention him by name, Leo was thinking of O. Seeck's theory (*GGA* 13 [1887] 497ff), who distinguished two main classes among manuscripts of Ausonius: (a) the Voss. Q 107 and the other manuscripts of this type, which he thought to represent an edition published by the poet himself; and (b) the Voss. lat. 111, which he derived from an edition published shortly after Ausonius's death. This theory is no longer generally accepted; cf. G. Jachmann, "Das Problem der Urvariante in der Antike und die Grundlagen der Ausonius-Kritik," in *Concordia decennalis, Festschrift des Petrarca-Hauses in Köln* (1941) 47–104. Jachmann (*Gött. Gel. Nachr.* [1943] 187ff), Knoche (ed. 1950, VII) and, more hesitatingly, Pasquali (*Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 2nd ed., [1952] xxi f) denied the existence of "author's variants" in Juvenal. In the first edition of his work (1934, 425ff) Pasquali had accepted Knoche's earlier views, which were essentially those of Leo (cf. F. Jacoby, *Hermes* [1959] 449, n. 1 454ff, who believed that a critical edition, published perhaps in Servius' time, was the archetype of the textual tradition of Juvenal, while admitting that other traditions may have survived). The general uncertainty is remarkable.

must have been marked with critical signs which made it clear where they should be inserted.

One more question must be answered: How should the longer O passage be printed in a modern critical edition?

One solution would be to bracket 346-348 and insert O 1-34 in their place — i.e. between 345 and 349. This would give us, perhaps, the version originally intended by the poet. The manuscript authority for this solution is slight, as I have pointed out above, for (a) we must delete three lines which are attested by all manuscripts; (b) we must accept as genuine and indispensable 34 lines attested by only one manuscript of average quality; (c) we must transpose them. This is essentially the solution adopted by Clausen, except for the fact that he inserts them where O has them, after 365.

Another possible solution: the textual history of Juvenal seems to indicate that the O passage was rejected at one point by the poet, or his ancient editor, and replaced by 346-348. We may therefore assume that Juvenal shortened this passage by omitting O 1-29 and rewriting O 30-34. As a result of this process of revision we have 346-348. If we accept this solution, we must print 346-348 without brackets and put O 1-34 as an alternative version into the apparatus.

It has been suggested that Juvenal intended to rewrite the whole O passage but did not get beyond the last few lines. In this case we may want to indicate that something is missing between 345 and 346:

- 342 et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis, aut quis
 simpuvium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum
 et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas
 345 ausus erat? sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras?

 346 audio quid veteres olim moneatis amici,
 "pone seram, cohibe." sed quis custodiet ipsos
 custodes? cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor.

In the apparatus criticus we would print the whole O passage as an earlier version, rejected, but only partly rewritten by the poet.

This is, perhaps, the most attractive solution. It enables us to keep vv. 346-348, which are, after all, not only well attested, but also more concise and expressive than the corresponding lines in the O passage. Moreover, even if we ignore the existence of the O passage altogether, we must admit that the transition from 345 to 346 is rather abrupt; something seems to be missing. The O passage provides exactly what we need. Unfortunately, one word makes it difficult to combine O 1-29 with 346-348; it is the word *novi* (O 29).

THE MULTIPLES OF THE AS

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IT is common knowledge that the word *as* signifies not only the basic unit of money and the basic unit of weight among the Romans, but also in a wider meaning any unit basic to the system of reckoning which a writer was using. Thus the *grammatici* use *as* sometimes to mean a foot, sometimes to mean a *iugerum*, and in mathematical writers the word is sometimes used to denote the unit of number, "one" without any physical attributes. The details of these facts are readily at hand in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, and it is needless to repeat them here. What is unknown, however, to the *Thesaurus* is that the Latin language owned a whole set of multiples of the *as* going up to one hundred *asses*, and that some late Latin writers use them freely in numerical reckoning where the value of *as* is simply unity, the number "one." The multiples thus used are as follows: *dupondius* = 2; *tressis* = 3; *quattus* = 4; *quinques* = 5; *sexis* = 6; *septus* = 7; *octus* = 8; *nomus* = 9; *decus* = 10; *vies* = 20; *tries* = 30; *quadrages* = 40; *quinquages* = 50; *sexages* = 60; *septuages* = 70; *octoges* = 80; *nonages* = 90; *centus* = 100. Intermediate numbers are written as *decus as*, *decus dipondius*, *vies tressis*, *tries quattus* etc. Above 100 the ordinary cardinal numbers are used for multiples of 100 *asses*: thus 245 = *ducenti quadrages quinques*. These numerals are found mostly, but not exclusively, in a group of African writers of the fifth and sixth centuries: Martianus Capella (fl. Carthage c. 425), Primasius, bishop of Adrumetum in the middle of the sixth century, and the anonymous author of the *Computus Paschalis* written at Carthage in 455. Of other writers in whom they occur the most noteworthy is Isidore of Seville. Richest of all these sources is the *Computus*, known since Bruno Krusch edited it in 1880 (*Studien zur christl.-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, pp. 279-297) as the *Computus Carthaginiensis*. The work, known from only one manuscript, is in a very vulgar Latin, with frequent confusion of *o* and *u*, *e* and *i*, and *b* and *v*, omission or false addition of final *-m*, and occasional aphaeresis of initial *e* or *i*, as *reticus* for *hereticus*. Not all the vulgarisms can be assigned to the author, who can hardly be supposed, for example, to have written indifferently *Israhel*; *Isdrael* and *Sdrael*, or *assem*, *adsem* and *atsem*.

The numeral forms in question have sometimes been corrupted by scribes because they are not often found: e.g. *sexis* is corrupted into *sex* or *sexies*, *decus* into *decas*, *tries* to *tricies*. Where the scribes have left them unmolested, they have often been thrown out by editors, and have thus remained unknown to lexicographers. Thus *decus* occurs four times in Martianus Capella, but has been emended out by the editors, and the *Thesaurus* knows nothing of those four occurrences. I have therefore assembled the evidence for these forms so far as it is known to me.

DUPONDIUS = 2

1. Partiris tricies sexies per decus octus, efficit dipondius. "Divide 36 by 18, the result is 2." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.23,1 (on *tricies sexies* see below under "Tries sexis = 36").

2. . . . in quibus [sc. 779,402 $\frac{1}{12}$] partiris trigesimam, habebis viginti quinque milia nungenti octoes, super et dipondius uncia. "Divide 779,402 $\frac{1}{12}$ by 30; you will have 25,980 and 2 $\frac{1}{12}$ over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,1.

super et semper malui scribere, superet semper *Krusch*

3. In his [sc. 779,402 $\frac{1}{12}$] partiris trigesimam, et habebis viginti quinque milia nongentos octogenta, super et dipondius uncia. *Comp. Carth.* 2,11 (the matter is the same as in the previous example, but note that *nongentos* is here declined, while before the nominative form was used as if indeclinable, a usage common in the *Computus*; the cardinal *octoginta* is also put instead of *octoes* [= *octoges*]).

For further examples of *dupondius* = 2 see below under 12, 72, 432, 8562 and 779,402.

TRESSIS = 3

1. Partiris [scil. dies centum quattuor bessem sicilicum duas selas de scripulo trientem semunciam sicilicum] tricessimam, invenies tressis, super et decus quattus bes sicilicus due sele etc. "Divide $104 + \frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{48} + \frac{2}{72} + \frac{1}{288}$ ($\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{24} + \frac{1}{48}$) by 30, you will have 3 and $14 + \frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{48}$ etc. over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,2 (the cumbrous fraction is an attempt to express $\frac{43}{60}$ in a duodecimal notation, which is rather like trying to express 37% of a pound in shillings, pence, and farthings).

For further examples of *tressis* = 3 see below under 13.

QUATTUS = 4

1. In his [sc. 102] partiris septimam, et habes decus quattus, super et quattus. "Divide 102 by 7 and you have 14 and 4 over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,3.

2. Ergo ne duo quidem, qui in latere quattus sunt, tres, qui in latere novenarii sunt, metiuntur. "Thus two, the square root of four, is not a factor of three, which is the square root of nine." Martianus Capella p. 419,19.

quattus R^1B^1 , quaternas *ut vid*, R^2 , quaternarii ALB^2M , IIII βA (*libros RB saepissime veritatem servare ostendi "De Martiano Capella emendando," Mnemos. suppl. 18, Leidae 1971*)

For further examples of *quattus* = 4 see below under 14, 24, 84, 354, 384, 11,904 and 109,574.

QUINQUES = 5

1. . . fiunt dies trecenti quinquaginta quinque, in quibus partiris sexagesimam, et habes quinques deunc. "... 355 days; divide by 60 and you have $5\frac{11}{12}$." *Comp. Carth.* 2,15.

On the form *quinques* cf. Maecianus *ass. distrib.* p. 398 Gron.: "Quinques hac nota scribas . . . vocesque quadrans semuncia sicilicus, nam sedecim quadrantes ac totidem semunciae sicilicique faciunt quinques." For further examples of *quinques* = 5 see below under 25, 35, 45, 365.

SEXIS = 6

1. Bis terni sexis facit. "Twice three makes six." Mart. Cap. p. 371,5

terni sexis $\beta A^2L^2B^2$, ternis exis L^1B^1 , ternis sexis AA^1M , ternis exhis R^1 , ternis sexhis R^2

2. Ter bini sexis. "Thrice two is six." Mart. Cap. p. 380,2.

sexis ALB^2M , sexsis RE^1 , sex sunt βA , Dick

3. Bis terni sexis. "Twice three is six." Mart. Cap. p. 380,5

sexhis RB^1 , sexis *cett.*, sex *vulgo edunt*

4. Ex duobus triplo sexis implevit. "Two taken three times makes up six." Mart. Cap. p. 395,18

sexhis R^1 , sexus M , sexis *cett.*, sex *Eyss. e conj.*

5. Hos [sc. duos] iungis cum summa minore, id est sexis, erunt VIII. "Add these to the lesser sum, namely six, and there will be eight." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.23,1.

sexis aliquot ex libris $ABCT$, sexies ceteri (*nam ex Lindsaii apparatu non admôdum utili veritatem adamussim cognoscere non licet*), sex K

6. Quapropter VIII superant VI duabus monadibus, id est tertia de sexis. "Therefore eight exceeds six by two units, that is, by one third of six." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.23,1.

sexis *BCT*, VI *K*, sex *A*, *Linds.*

7. Ex quibus diebus [sc. 385] partiris sexagesimam, et habes sexis cincun. "Divide 385 days by 60 and you get $6\frac{5}{12}$." *Comp. Carth.* 2,15.

8. In quibus [sc. 367] partiris sexagesimam, invenies sexis uncia duae selae. "Divide 367 by 60, and you get $6 + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{2}{72}$." *Comp. Carth.* 2,13.

9. "Octogies quater ergo," ut dicit, "semuncia duae selae scripulum unum semis semuncia duae selae"; ipse itaque respondit, "Sexis quadrans scripuli undecim destan." "'84 times $\frac{1}{24} + \frac{2}{72} + \frac{1}{288} + (\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{24} + \frac{2}{72})\frac{1}{288}$,' says he, and he gives us the answer himself — $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{11}{288} + (\frac{5}{6} \times \frac{1}{288})$.'" *Comp. Carth.* 2,9.

10. Et ille ait, "Sexis dies sunt sex, et quadrant orae sunt tres; scripuli vero undecim destant semiora minus puncta duo esse probantur." "He goes on to say, 'The six is six days; the quarter is three hours; the $11\frac{5}{6}$ scruples are half an hour less 25 seconds.'" *Comp. Carth.* 2,9.

On the form *sexis* see Mart. Cap. p. 130,11: "S littera finita praecedente I neutra monoptota sunt, ut tressis, sexis;" also Maecianus *ass. distrib.* p. 398 Gron.: "Sexis hac nota scribas . . . nominesque triens semuncia; aequae enim trientes et semunciae sedecies ducti sexis efficiunt."

SEPTUS = 7

1. Octogies quater unciae septus. "84 times $\frac{1}{12}$ makes seven." *Comp. Carth.* 1,3

octogies *scripsi*, octogges *cod.*

2. In his [sc. 767,025] partiris septimam, et habes centum nobe milia quingenti septaes quattus, super et septus. "Divide 767,025 by 7, and you have 109,574 and seven over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,3.

On the form *septus* cf. Maecianus *ass. distrib.* p. 398 Gron.: "Septus hac nota scribas . . . ac nomines quincunx sicilicus; simili enim modo quincunces et sicilici multiplicati septus efficiunt;" and see below under 12,777.

OCTUS = 8

I have found no example by itself, but see below under 18, and cf. Maecianus *ass. distrib.* p. 398 Gron.: "Octus hac nota scribas . . . ac nomines semis; quibus eodem modo multiplicatis octus reperies."

NONUS = 9

1. Adicias item nonus et perficias quadratum XXV. "Add nine, and you make the square number 25." Mart. Cap. p. 378,15.

nonus *scripsi*, nonas *codd.*, novem *Grotius*, *Dick*

2. Mensura autem quattuor in duobus, nonus in tribus est. "Two is a factor of four, three of nine." Mart. Cap. p. 403,23

nonus A^1RB^1 , novem *cett.*, *Dick*

On the form cf. Maecianus *ass. distrib.* p. 398 Gron.: "Nonus hac nota scribas . . . appellesque semis semuncia sicilicus; . . . multiplicatum nonus invenies." See also below under 29, 49.

DECUS = 10

1. Decus per decus fit centum quadratus, "Ten times ten gives the square number 100." Mart. Cap. p. 378,9

decus per decus *codd.*, decussis per decussim *Grot.*, *Dick.*, *qui tamen totum locum subditicium putat*

2. In decus sunt et sex et de sex duae tertiae. "In ten are six and two thirds of six." Mart. Cap. p. 391,10

decus *codd.*, decem *Dick.*, decade *alii*

3. Multiplicet decus octonarius numerus, fiunt LXXX. "Let ten be multiplied by eight, the result is eighty." Mart. Cap. p. 415,13

decus *codd.*, decussis *Dick.*, decas (*deinde* octonarium numerum) *Vulcanius*

For the form cf. Maecianus *ass. distrib.* p. 398 Gron.: "Decus hac nota scribas . . . etc.," and see further under 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 18.

DECUS AS = 11

1. Octogies quater enim decus as faciunt tibi dies nungentos triginta unum. "84 times $11\frac{1}{12}$ makes 931." *Comp. Carth.* 1,4.

2. Quindecies enim dodrantes decus as quadran. "15 times $\frac{3}{4} = 11\frac{1}{4}$." *Comp. Carth.* 1,6.

3. Duodecima in decus as quadran faciat tibi deun sicilicus. " $11\frac{1}{4}$ divided by 12 is $\frac{11}{12} + \frac{1}{48}$." *Comp. Carth.* 1,6.

4. Octogies quater decus as uncia faciunt tibi nungenti triginta unum. "84 times $11\frac{1}{12}$ makes 931." *Comp. Carth.* 2,1.

5. Octogies quater decus as uncia faciunt tibi dies nongenti triginta unum. *Comp. Carth.* 2,10.

DECUS DIPONDIUS = 12

1. Positis extremis, utputa VI et decus dipondius, vides quot monadibus superetur VI a XII. "The extreme terms being given, e.g. six and twelve, you see by how many units twelve exceeds six." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.23,1.
2. Ter quaterni decus dipondius. "Thrice four is twelve." Primasius in Apocalypsin, P.L. 68, p. 842B.
3. Duodecies decus dipondius CXLIV facit. "Twelve twelves are 144." Primasius *ibid.*
4. Duodecies enim decus dipondius CXLIV facit. Primasius in Apocalypsin, P.L. 68 p. 926A.
5. Septies decus dipondius habeas annos LXXXIV. " 7×12 gives 84 years." *Comp. Carth.* 1,3.
6. In his [sc. $373 + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{2}{72}$] partiris trigesimam, invenies decus dipondius, super et decus tressis uncia duae selae. "Divide this by 30, you will find 12 and $13 + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{2}{72}$ over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,13.
7. . . . fiunt dies trecenti sexaginta deun. Partiris trigesimam et invenies decus dipondius, super et deun. ". . . this comes to $360\frac{11}{12}$ days. Divide this by thirty, and you have 12 and $\frac{11}{12}$ over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,15.
8. In quibus [sc. 732] partiris sexagesimam, invenies decus dipondius sestan due sele. "Divide 732 by 60, the result is $12 + \frac{2}{12} + \frac{2}{72}$." *Comp. Carth.* 2,13.

DECUS TRESSIS = 13

1. In his [sc. $373 + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{2}{72}$] partiris trigesimam, invenies decus dipondius, super et decus tressis uncia due sele. "Divide this by 30, the result is 12 and $13 + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{2}{72}$ over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,13.
2. . . . fiunt dies trecenti nonaginta unu cincun: partiris trigesimam et invenies decus tressis, super et as cincun. "The sum is $391\frac{5}{12}$ days; divide by 30, you will have 13 and $1\frac{5}{12}$ over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,13.

DECUS QUATTUS = 14

1. Partiris [sc. $104 + \frac{8}{12} + \frac{1}{48} + \frac{2}{72} + \frac{1}{288} \times (\frac{4}{12} + \frac{1}{24} + \frac{1}{48})$] tricesimam, invenies tressis, super et decus quattus bes sicilicus due selae, de scripulu trien semuncia sicilicus. "Divide by 30, the result is 3 and 14 etc. over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,2.
2. In his [sc. 102] partiris septimam et habes decus quattus, super et quattus. "Divide 102 by 7, you have 14 and 4 over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,3.

DECUS OCTUS = 18

1. Partiris tricies sexies per decus octus, efficit dipondius. "Divide 36

by 18, the result is 2." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.23,1 [On tricies sexies see below under 36.]

decus octus *BCT*, decus octo *K*, decas octo *A et Linds.*

VIES = 20

1. Quinquies quaterna vies. " $5 \times 4 = 20$." Mart. Cap. p. 380,2.

vies libri, viginti vel XX vulgo edunt

VIES QUATTUS = 24

1. In quibus [sc. $744 + \frac{2}{12} + \frac{2}{72}$] partiris trigesimam, invenies vies quattus, super et vies quattus sestan due sele. "Divide by 30, and you will have 24 and $24 + \frac{2}{12} + \frac{2}{72}$ over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,13.

2. Nam quater seni vies quattus facit. " $4 \times 6 = 24$." Mart. Cap. p. 372,10.

vies libri, XX *edd.* quattus *scripsi*, quartus *R¹B¹*, quartis *cett.*, IIII *Dick.*

VIES QUINQUES = 25

1. Quinquies quini vies quinques. " $5 \times 5 = 25$." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.5,6

vies *BC*, viginti *AT et Linds.*, XX *K* quinques *scripsi*, quinque vel quinqu libri

2. Quinquies quini vies quinques. Isidore, *Orig.* 3.7,5.

vies *BC*, bies *T*, vicies *K*, XX *A et Linds.* quinques *scripsi*, quinqus *BT*, quinquies *CK*, V *A et Linds.*

3. Quinquies quini vies quinques. Isidore, *Orig.* 3.7,6

vies *BC*, bies *T*, vicies *K*, XX *A et Linds.* quinques *scripsi*, quinqus *BCT*, quinquies *K*, V *A et Linds.*

VIES NONUS = 29

1. Sexies ergo vies nonus tibi faciunt dies centum septuaginta quattuor. " $6 \times 29 = 174$." *Comp. Carth.* 2,17.

2. Sexies ergo vies nonus faciunt tibi dies centum septuaginta quattuor. *Comp. Carth.* 2,17. [In both these passages the multiplicative *sexies* has been written *sexes*.]

TRIES = 30

1. Duodecies ergo tries cincun sicilicus faciunt tibi secundum cursum Romanorum dies trecento sexaginta quinque quadran. " $12 \times (30\frac{5}{12} + \frac{1}{48}) = 365\frac{1}{4}$." *Comp. Carth.* 1,4.

TRIES AS = 31

1. Partiris [sc. 931] tricesimam, invenies tries as, remanet unus assis. "Divide 931 by 30, you will find 31 and 1 over." *Comp. Carth.* 1,4.

TRIES QUINQUES = 35

1. Quinquies septeni tries quinquies. " $5 \times 7 = 35$." Mart. Cap. p. 370,8.

tries $ALRBM$, trigies β , triges A , triginta *Dick.* quinquies *scripsi*, quinquies *libri*

TRIES SEXIS = 36

1. Partiris tries sexis per decus octus, efficit dipondius. "Divide 36 by 18, it makes 2." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.23,1

tries sexis *scripsi*, tricies sexies *libri*, si *tacenti Linds. credendum est*

QUADRAGES QUINQUES = 45

1. Quinquies noveni quadrages quinquies. " $5 \times 9 = 45$." Mart. Cap. p. 370,9.

quinquies *Dick. rectissime*, quinque *libri* quadrages AA^1B^1 , quadragis L^1 quadragies $\beta R^2B^2L^2M$, quadraginta *Dick.* quinquies AB^1 , quinquis LB^2 , quinquies βARM , quinque *Dick.*

QUADRAGES NONUS = 49

1. Septies septeni quadrages nonus. " $7 \times 7 = 49$." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.5,6

quadrages *scripsi*, quadraes BC , quadragies est K , quadraginta T , XL A et *Linds.* nonus KBC , novem AT , IX *Linds.*

SEPTUAGES DIPONDIUS = 72

1. Nam sexies septuages dipondius facit quadringentos tries dipondius. " $6 \times 72 = 432$." Mart. Cap. p. 371,22

septuages A^1 , septuagies βAA^2LRBM , LXX *Dick.* dipondius *libri*, II *Dick.*

2. Similiter octies septuages dipondius $DLXXVI$. "Likewise eight times 72 makes 576." Mart. Cap. p. 371,23

septuagies dipondius *libri*, $LXXII$ *Dick.* (septuages *scripsi*)

3. VI et XII multiplicata facient septuages dipondius. "6 and 12 multiplied together make 72." Isidore, *Orig.* 3.8,2.

septuages *scripsi*, septuagies *libri*

4. VI et XII multiplicata faciunt septuages dipondius. Isidore, *Orig.* 3.13,1

septuages *scripsi*, septuagies *codd.*

OCTOGES QUATTUS = 84

1. Vicies quinquies ergo octoges quattus fiunt pascae duo milia centum. "25 × 84 makes 2100 Easters." *Comp. Carth.* 2,3

quinquies *scripsi*, quinques *cod.*

CENTUS OCTOGES = 180

1. Sexies tricenī centus octoges sunt. "6 × 30 = 180." *Comp. Carth.* 2,17.

DUCENTI DECUS = 210

1. Septies tricenī habes CC decus. "7 × 20 = 210." *Comp. Carth.* 2,17.

TRECENTI QUINQUAGES QUATTUS = 354

1. Octogies quater enim tricenti quinquages quattus faciunt tibi dies lunares viginti novem milia septingenti triginta sex. "84 × 354 gives you 29,736 lunar days." *Comp. Carth.* 2,1.

quattus *scripsi*, quartus *cod.*

2. Octogies quater enim tricenti quinquages quattus sunt dies viginti nove milia septingenti triginta sex. *Comp. Carth.* 2,10

quinquages *scripsi*, quinquaes *cod.*

3. Quinquagies ter tricenti quinquages quattus faciunt tibi dies dece et octo milia septingenti sexaginta duo. "53 × 354 gives you 18,762 days." *Comp. Carth.* 2,10.

TRECENTI SEXAGES QUINQUES = 365

1. Bis milies itaque centies tricenti sexages quinques quadran faciunt tibi dierum septingenta sexaginta septe milia viginti quinque. "2100 × 365½ = 767,025." *Comp. Carth.* 2,3

sexages quinques *scripsi*, sexagis quinque *cod.*

2. Bis itaque tricenti sexages quinques fiunt dies septingenti triginta. "2 × 365 = 730." *Comp. Carth.* 2,13.

TRECENTI OCTOGES QUATTUS = 384

1. Tricies semel ergo trecenti octoges quattus: respondet tibi undecim milia nongenti quattus. "What is 30×384 ? Answer: 11,904." *Comp. Carth.* 2,10.

octoges *scripsi*, docies *sine sensu cod.*, ocies *sine sensu Krusch.*

QUADRINGENTI TRIES DIPONDIUS = 432

1. Nam sexies septuages dipondius facit quadringentos tries dipondius. " $6 \times 72 = 432$." *Mart. Cap.* p. 371,22

tries $\beta ARBM$, triges *A*, trias *L*, XXX *Dick.* dipondius *libri*, II *Dick.*

OCTO MILIA QUINGENTI SEXAGES DIPONDIUS = 8562

1. . . . eam accepisse ses<ter>tia nummum octo <milia> quingenti sexages dupondius. "She received 8562 sesterces." *C.I.L.* IV Suppl. 40,29

sestertia *Momms.*, sestia *tab.* milia *suppl. Momms.*

UNDECIM MILIA NONGENTI QUATTUS = 11,904

1. Tricies semel ergo trecenti octoges quattus: respondent tibi undecim milia nongenti quattus. "What is 31×384 ? Answer: 11,904." *Comp. Carth.* 2,10.

DUODECIM MILIA SEPTINGENTI SEPTUAGES SEPTUS = 12,777

1. In quibus [sc. 766,625] partiris sexagesimam et invenies duodecim milia septingenti septuages septus uncia. "Divide 766,625 by 60 and you have $12,777\frac{1}{2}$." *Comp. Carth.* 2,11

septuages *scripsi*, septes (*i.e.* septaes) *cod.*

VIGINTI QUINQUE MILIA NONGENTI OCTOGES = 25,980

1. In quibus [sc. 779,402 $\frac{1}{2}$] partiris trigesimam, habebis viginti quinque milia nungenti octoges, super et dipondius uncia. "Divide 779,402 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 30; the result is 25,980 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,3.

octoges *scripsi*, octoes *cod.*

CENTUM NOVEN MILIA QUINGENTI SEPTUAGES QUATTUS = 109,574

1. In his [sc. 767,025] partiris septimam et habes centum novem milia quingenti septuages quattus, super et septus. "Divide 767,025 by 7, the result is 109,574 and 7 over." *Comp. Carth.* 2,3.

SEPTINGENTIA SEPTUAGINTA NOVEM MILIA

QUADRINGENTI DIPONDIUS = 779,402

1. Addes [sc. $12,777\frac{1}{2}$] supra summam praefatam [sc. 766,625] et habes assium septingenta septaginta novem milia quadringenti dipondius uncia. "Add $12,777\frac{1}{2}$ to 766,625, and you have $779,402\frac{1}{2}$." *Comp. Carth.* 2,11.

The data may be tabulated as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1^a

Word	Number of times found		
	in all mss.	in some mss.	by conjecture
dipondius	18	0	0
tressis	3	0	0
quattus	9	1	1
quinques	2	3	3
sexis	7	3	1
septus	2	0	0
octus	0	1	0
nonus	2	2	1
decus	21	1	1
vies	5	3	0
tries	2	2	1
quadrages	0	1	1
quinquages	2	0	1
sexages	3	0	0
septuages	1	1	4
octoges	2	0	2
nonages	0	0	0
centus	1	0	0

^a In this table I have allowed myself to regard e and i as equivalent, e.g. *sexagis* = *sexages*, *quinquis* = *quinques*.

I do not think that much needs to be added to this statement of the facts. One thing perhaps ought to be said. Mommsen, Dick, and the compilers of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* believed that *dupondius* could not mean simply "two," and that it arose from the faulty expansion of a numeral sign — "videtur redire ad numerorum notam male solutam." They then necessarily believe (1) that in no fewer than eighteen places a man who had *II* in front of him and ought to have

written *duo* wrote *dupondius* instead, much as if a man with "12" in front of him were to write "shilling" instead of "twelve"; (2) that one of these bunglers was a Pompeian auctioneer's clerk, whose job it was to write down figures and sums of money day in, day out; (3) that purely by accident nearly all the examples occur in contexts involving computation; (4) that purely by accident in 15 cases out of 18, *dupondius* was mistakenly written for *duo* after *decus* had been written mistakenly for *decem*, *septuages* for *septuaginta*, and the like. This is beyond belief. If *dupondius* for *duo* were a mere mistake, it would occur at random, with no discernible pattern. Likewise, if *quadrages*, *quinguages*, etc., were mere copying mistakes for *quadrages*, *quinguages*, etc., as some editors seem to have supposed, they too would occur at random; but out of eight times that *vies* occurs, seven are in combination with *quattus*, *quinqes*, and *nonus*. The consistency with which the numerals are used makes it impossible that they should be the result of scribal error.

There are doubtless many more examples of these multiples of the *as*, either lurking in manuscripts or exiled into *apparatus critici*. Those that I have given are enough, however, to show that *dupondius*, *tressis*, *quattus*, etc., constituted a regular system of numerals and were in use as early as the first century and down to the time of Isidore. If any further examples come to light, it is to be hoped that they will no longer be emended out by editors but accepted as part of the Latin language.

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

OSTRACA HARVARDIANA

GERALD M. BROWNE

THE Houghton Library of Harvard University possesses thirty-two ostraca from Greco-Roman Egypt; they bear the inventory numbers 3141 to 3172. Nineteen of these texts (inv. 3154-3172) come from a collection formerly belonging to H. W. Haynes of Boston and comprising Greek, Coptic, and Demotic material. E. J. Goodspeed published all but one of the Greek pieces in "Greek Ostraca in America," *AJP* 25 (1904) 45-58; on the collection as a whole he wrote as follows: "these ostraca are from the vicinity of the First Cataract, where Professor Haynes secured them in 1878-9. The Haynes ostraca, Coptic, Demotic and Greek, number forty-three in all, seventeen of them being Greek" (p. 45). Harvard has only a part of this collection: all seventeen of the Greek texts, but only one Coptic piece (inv. 3169) and one Demotic (inv. 3166). Some of these sherds have Haynes's catalogue number on them; e.g. 3170, an almost completely effaced Greek text, is numbered 17 and is the one Greek item which Goodspeed did not publish; 3166, the Demotic fragment, bears the number 18.

Under the inventory numbers 3141 to 3153 are catalogued ten Greek ostraca, two Demotic (3144 and 3149) and one in Demotic with a few remnants of Greek (3150). Like the Haynes ostraca, all of them which record a provenance come from Elephantine and Syene, at the First Cataract of the Nile. When and from whom Harvard acquired this collection is not known. None of these ostraca has been published, and in the present article I provide editions of all the Greek texts, with the exception of the Greco-Demotic fragment mentioned above. Inventory 3169, the Coptic piece from the Haynes collection, is also published here. In an appendix I assemble textual and diplomatic notes on the Haynes ostraca which Goodspeed edited.

I should like to express my thanks to Professor Mason Hammond for calling my attention to these ostraca, and to Professor Herbert C. Youtie for his valuable suggestions and criticism. I am also grateful to Professor William H. Bond for permission to publish the texts.

RECEIPT FOR ARREARS IN *XEIPΩNAEION*

Inv. 3141

5.8 × 6.8 cm.

After A.D. 120/121

This receipt records the payment of two drachmas to be credited to the account of Petorzmetis Arab(). The payment is for arrears of the monthly trade tax of Syene; it is discharged through an assistant of the collectors of that tax.

For the trade tax (*χειρωνάξιον*) at Elephantine-Syene, see W.O. I 321–326; Wallace, *Taxation* 193–213; and O. Wilb. pp. 59–68, especially 66f, where the monthly trade tax is discussed.

In this ostrakon the collectors of the arrears are designated ἐπιτ(ηρηται) ἐξ() ἐνλ(είμματος)¹ [ε (ἔτους)]. The reading is modelled on ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐξ() ἐνλίματος κε (ἔτους) O. Tait II 1547, and ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐξ() ἐνλίματο(s) κζ (ἔτους) 1548. Comparable are ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐξ() μερισ(μοῦ) ἐνλ(είμματος) . . . κε (ἔτους) 1545, and ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐξ() κε (ἔτους) W.O. II 1590. I can find no convincing resolution for ἐξ(); it is probably the name of the tax which is in arrears.

Officials of somewhat similar title appear elsewhere: ἀπαιτ(ηται) μερι(σμοῦ) ἐνλ(είμματος) τελ(ωνικῶν) ιη (ἔτους) O. Wilb. 21 (“liquidateurs de la contribution du déficit des opérations de la ferme de la 18e année,” editor’s translation), and ἀπαιτηται μερισμοῦ ὠνίων ἐνλ(είμματος) τελωνικ(ῶν) τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) W.O. II 558.² Cf. also O. Strassb. 244, 248, possibly 249 (see editor’s note to line 1), and the numerous citations in O. Tait III p. 193. These officials are discussed in O. Wilb. 21 commentary.

[. . .].ς ‘Ροῦφο(s) καὶ οἱ λοιποῖ(οὶ) ἐπιτ(ηρηται) ἐξ() ἐνλ(είμματος)
[ε (ἔτους).] διέγραψ(εν) ὁ Ἀραβ() δι(ὰ) Σωκρατίωνο(s)
[καὶ τ]ῶν λοιπ(ῶν) πρακ(τόρων) χειρο(ναξίου) μη(νιαίου) Σοή(νης)
[ὄν(όματος) Πε]τορζμήθ(ιος) Ἀραβ() ὑπ(ἐρ) χειρο(ναξίου) μη(νιαίου)
5 [Σοή(νης)] τοῦ ε (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
[τοῦ κυρίου δ]ρᾱ(χμὰς) δύο, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) β. Ἀμμ(ώνιος)
ἔγρα(ψα).

[± 14]. (τετρώβολον) (δίχαλκον).

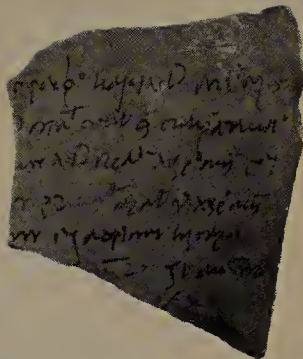
1 ἐλλείμματος 3, 4 χειρωναξίου

¹ I.e. ἐλλείμματος.

² See W.O. I 610, n. 2, where the reading of the edition, τελωνικ(οῦ), is corrected.



No. 2

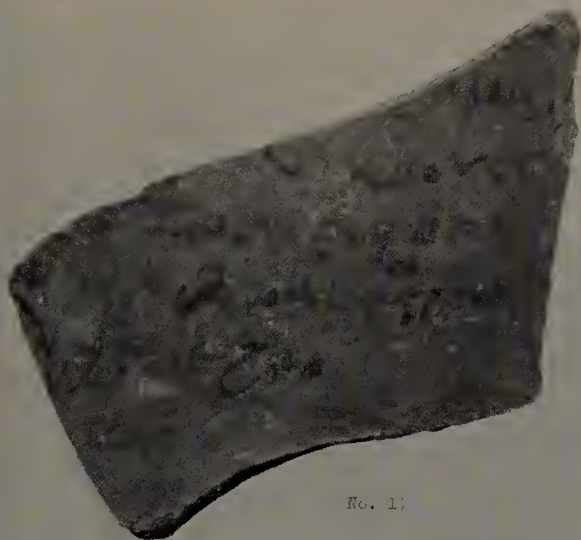


No. 1



No. 4

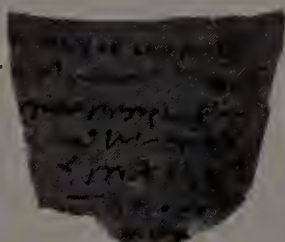
PLATE I. Ostraca Harvardiana.



No. 17



No. 6



No. 5

... s Rufus and the other supervisors ... of the deficit of year 5. Arab (), through Socraton and the remaining collectors of the monthly trade tax of Syene, has paid, to the account of Petorzmetis son of Arab (), for the monthly trade tax of Syene for the 5th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord, two drachmas, equal 2 dr. I, Ammonius, wrote. ... 4 ob. 2 ch.

2 € (ἔτους): A.D. 120/121. Restored from line 5.

ὁ Ἀραβ(): the same abbreviated form occurs in line 4. I have interpreted it as one of the personal names beginning Arab- (see NB and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*). We seem to be dealing with a father who is paying his son's taxes. This would be a normal situation for an apprentice, as is apparent from the διδασκαλικαί (e.g. P. Oxy. II 275.16-17). The presence of ὁ is not an objection to this view, since personal names at times have the article; see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, 2.6.

4 ὁν(όματος): cf., e.g., W.O. II 243.3.

No. 2

RECEIPT FOR ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΛΙΑΔΟΣ AND OTHER TAXES

Inv. 3142

6.8 × 7.2 cm.

20 March A.D. 131

The writing on this ostrakon is quite faded in several places, particularly in the last line. Decipherment has been greatly facilitated through the discovery that O. Wilb. 20 was written in the same hand (see plate 1 of O. Wilb.). The latter, drawn up on 15 March A.D. 131,³ is practically a duplicate of the present text, and the same taxes are involved in both. The only significant difference is in the name of the taxpayer. For a full discussion, see the commentary on O. Wilb. 20, and Wallace, *Taxation* 148 and n. 52.

[Καλασεῖρι]ς πράκ(τωρ). διέγρα(ψεν) Καλασεῖρις

[± 9] μη(τρὸς) Σενπετορζμήθ(ιος) μερι(σμών)

[ἀλιᾶδ(ος) καὶ ποταμ]οφυλ(ακίδος) στατ(ίωνος) ιε (ἔτους) ῥυπ(αράς)
(δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον). (ἔτους) ιε

[Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ] κυρ(ίου) Φαμεν(ὠθ) κδ. Κόκρην

5 [ἔγρ(αψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτοῦ] μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γρ(άμματα).

Kalasiris, collector. Kalasiris son of ... and Senpetorzmetis has paid, for the tax concerning the cutter and the river-guard ship and for the *statio*-tax of the 15th year, 3 *rhyparai* dr. 4 ob. Year 15 of Hadrian

³ Not 16 March, as the editor thought; the ostrakon was written on 19 Phamenoth.

the lord, Phamenoth 24. I, Kakren, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate.

2 Σενπετορζμήθ(ιος): "Le féminin en Θιν-est caractéristique d'Élephantine, quoique les féminins en Σεν-s'y rencontrent aussi," O. Wilb. 32, p. 66.

μερι(σμών): for the accusative, cf. O. Tait II 816, W.O. II 198, 202, 203.

3 ἀλιάδ(ος): see J. C. Shelton, "Critical Notes on Greek Papyrus and Ostrakon Texts," *BASP* 7 (1970) 9f.

ῥυπ(αράς): ῥυπαρός marks the amount as including extra charges; see J. G. Milne, "The Currency of Egypt under the Romans to the Time of Diocletian," *AAA* 7 (1914-1916) 64-66; O. Tait I p. 87, no. 79 note; and Wallace, *Taxation* 324. Professor Youtie has called my attention to P. Mich. VI 372 ii 9, where ῥυπ(αραι) (ἀρτάβαι) is used for a total which demonstrably includes extra charges.

4 Φαμεν(ὠθ) κδ: 20 March A.D. 131.

Κάκρηγν: the same name appears in O. Wilb. 20, but the editor did not succeed in deciphering it. It is more clearly written in the present ostrakon, except for the second letter, which may be an epsilon. I have not been able to parallel the name elsewhere.

No. 3

ACCOUNT

Inv. 3143

6.2 × 7.5 cm.

ca. 200 B.C.

A very fragmentary account. The general style of writing suggests a date of approximately 200 B.C.; cf. P. Heidelberg 226 (= Seider, *Paläographie* 8), dated in 215/213 B.C.

ἀξβ (ἡμισυ)	ο[
Ϝιε	ρ·[
Ϣ. . [

1 ἀ: ostrakon has Ϡ.

(ἡμισυ): Ϭ ostr.

2 Ϝ: I have not been able to find this monogram elsewhere; it perhaps stands for γύης or γύη.

3 Ϣ: perhaps to be equated with Ϣ, a symbol for ἀρτάβαι which appears in P. Lille 1.11; see Bilabel, "Siglae," *RE* 2e Reihe 4, 2305.

No. 4

PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. 3145

9.5 × 7.5 cm.

Middle of 3rd cent. A.D.

This fragmentary letter, in which the names of neither the sender nor the recipient can be recovered, concerns a transaction involving dates. On the subject of dates in general, see N. Hohlwein, "Palmiers et Palmeraies dans l'Égypte romaine," *Ét. de Pap.* 5 (1939) 1-74.

The text can be plausibly explained on the assumption that it deals with a creditor, probably the Kaetis in line 3, who has hired a soldier (i.e. an armed collector) to collect a debt in the form of dates. The soldier seems to have told Kaetis that he will claim them (see note to lines 3-4), and the writer therefore warns his correspondent, with whom the dates are stored, to give them up only if the soldier can produce an authorization from the decaprottoi. For these officials, see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 211-214; and E. G. Turner, "Egypt and the Roman Empire: the δεκάπρωτοι," *JEA* 22 (1936) 7-19.

On palaeographical grounds the text may be assigned to the middle of the third century of our era; the hand bears a resemblance to the first hand of P. Hamb. inv. 99 (in Seider, *Paläographie* I 44), which was written in A.D. 250. The mention of decaprottoi supports this date; these liturgists are attested from A.D. 226 to 304/306 (see N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. δεκαπρωτεία).

 α. [
 ἐπὶ ὁ στρατ[ιώτης ἄ-]
 πῆνγίλεν Καῆτι . . . [.]
 ἡσασθαι τὰ φοινίκια
 5 τὰ παρὰ σοί, καλῶς ποι-
 ήσις μὴ ἀπολῦσε ἄνευ
 γραμμάτων δεκαπρώτ(ων)
 εἰδὼς ὅτι δικα. [

2 ἐπεὶ 2-3 ἀπήγγειλεν 5 καλῶς 5-6 ποιήσεις 6 ἀπολῦσαι
 7 δεκαπρώτ(ων): read by H. C. Youtie 8 δικα.[: kappa corrected, perhaps
 from gamma

. . . Since the soldier announced to Kaetis [that he would take (?)] the dates that are stored with you, you will do well not to turn them over without a letter of authorization from the dekaprottoi, knowing that. . .

1 Though the ostrakon is broken off above this line, it may be the first line of the letter; if so, then α.[is to be interpreted as the beginning of the sender's name.

3-4 After *Καῆτι* the traces suggest *αυ* or *λυ*, followed by a faint vertical stroke; there is room for a small letter between this stroke and the preceding letters. At the end of the line a long descender of an iota, rho, or phi is visible. The sense may be "since the soldier announced to Kaetis that he would take the dates. . . ." If so, it would be necessary to regard the infinitive *-ήσασθαι* as an aorist-contaminated future form (cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* I 2. 164).

8 *δικα.*[: e.g. *δικασ[θήσει*.

No. 5

RECEIPT FOR ΛΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ AND ΧΕΙΡΩΝΑΕΙΟΝ

Inv. 3146

5.5 × 4.5 cm.

Early in the reign of
Antoninus Pius

Zmentpos son of Petorzmethis and Tisatis, the taxpayer involved in the present receipt, appears also in the following ostraca from Elephantine: O. Haynes 8 and 10 (SB I 4359 and 4361), O. Tait II 817, O. Wilb. 23, and W.O. II 162. These texts extend from A.D. 135 to 141.

No. 5 records the payment of 3 dr. 3 ob. for poll tax. This sum is approximately one-fifth of the standard rate for the tax at that time, 17 dr. 1 ob. (see No. 6 introd.); it represents arrears from the 20th year of Hadrian (A.D. 135/136). The latter is referred to as *θεός*, and the text was drafted early in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The trade tax is also mentioned, but the amount paid no longer survives; for the tax, see No. 1 introd.

[(*ἔτους*) x *Λν*]τωνίνου Καίσαρος
[*τοῦ κυρίου*]ν Φαμενώ(θ) ιθ. διέγρ(αψεν)
[*Ζμεντ*]πῶς Πετορζμήθ(ιος) μητ(ρὸς)
[*Τισᾶτις ὕ*]π(ερ) λαο(γραφίας) κ (*ἔτους*) θεοῦ
5 [*Ἀδριανοῦ*]ῦ (δραχμὰς) γ (τριώβολον), χειρω(ναξίου)
[*τοῦ* x (*ἔτους*) *τοῦ*]ῦ α(ὕτοῦ) ὀνόματ(ος)
[± 11]θου Π[

Year . . . of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phamenoth 19. Zmentpos son of Petorzmethis and Tisatis has paid, for the poll tax of the 20th year

of the deified Hadrian, 3 dr. 3 ob., and for the trade tax of the . . . th year of the same emperor, in the name of. . .

2 Φαμενώ(θ) ιθ: 15 March.

4 Τισάτης: this name usually appears thus in the genitive; cf. No. 6.3 note, and see D. J. Georgacas, *CP* 43 (1948) 243ff.

No. 6

RECEIPT FOR ΛΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ AND ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣ

Inv. 3147 9 × 5.5 cm. December A.D. 139/January A.D. 140

This receipt was issued by Valerius Marion and his associate supervisors of the Sacred Gate of Syene; they act through their assistant, Pachompsachis. These individuals are attested elsewhere; see W.O. II p. 455, O. Haynes 9 (= SB I 4360) and O. Bruss.-Berl. 39.

The sum of 17 dr. 1 ob. is recorded as payment for poll tax. This is the standard rate for that tax at Elephantine-Syene from 113 to 171; see W.O. I 233f. The ostrakon also receipts payment for the *μερισμός επικεφαλίου ἀνδριάντος ἀνακεχρυσωμένου*, but the amount no longer survives. This tax was directed toward the erection of statues to the emperor (see W.O. I 152-155). In the present text it is for the first year of Antoninus and is probably connected with the Sothic celebration of A.D. 138; see O. Theb. pp. 98f.

[Οὐα]λέριος Μαρίων καὶ ο[ἱ σὺν]

[αὐ]τ(ῶ) ἐπιτ(ηρηται) ἱερᾶς πύλ(ης) Σοή[νης]

[δι](ᾶ) Παχομπάχης βοη[(θοῦ). διέγρα-]

ψεν Παβῶς Ἀρπα.[± 6]

5 .s ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) β (ἔτους) ὄβρα[χ(μάς) δεκα-]

επτὰ ὀβολ(όν), (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ιζ (ὀβολός), [μερισ(μόν)
ἐπικ(εφαλίου)]

ἀνδ(ριάντος) ἀνακ(εχρυσωμένου) α (ἔτους) [± 6]

(ἔτους) γ Ἀντωνίν[ου Καίσαρος]

τοῦ κυρίου T[ῦβι x.]

Valerius Marion and his associates, supervisors of the Sacred Gate of Syene, through Pachompsachis, assistant. Pabos son of Harpa . . . has paid, for the poll tax of the 2nd year, seventeen drachmas one obol, equal 17 dr. 1 ob., and for the capitation tax for the gilded statue of the 1st year. . . . Year 3 of Antoninus the lord, Tubi. . .

3 Παχομφάχης: in ostraca from Syene this name never appears with -ιος in the genitive; see O. Tait II 967.2 note. Cf. No. 5.4 note.

4 Ψενπαβῶς is a less likely articulation, since διέγραψεν is elsewhere divided thus between lines: e.g. W.O. II 222.

6 For the restoration of the end of the line, cf. W.O. II 182 and 183. For the accusative, μερισμόν, see No. 2.2 note.

7 ἀνδ(ριάντος) ἀνακ(εχρυσωμένου): the tax is usually abbreviated as ἀνδ() ἀνακ() or ἀνακεχ(), and the present ostrakon is no exception. The possibility arises that we are dealing with the tax ἀνδρῶν ἀνακεχωρηκότων (see O. Tait III p. 219, s.v. μερισμός; for the tax, used to make up the deficit caused by ἀναχώρησις, see N. Lewis, *JEA* 23 [1937] 63–75). But a fuller form in W.O. II 183, ἀνδρια() ἀνακ(), makes this suggestion unlikely; see further W. Müller, "Griechische Ostraka aus Elephantine/Syene II," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 6 (1958) 6.

9 Τ[ῦβι: the date lies somewhere between 28 December 139 and 26 January 140.

No. 7

RECEIPT FOR ΛΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ AND ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣ

Inv. 3148

8.5 × 8.2 cm.

12 October A.D. 171

This tax receipt no longer preserves the names of the collector and the βοηθός, but it is very likely that they are the Stephanus and Serenus mentioned in W.O. II 264. The latter, a receipt for λαογραφία, was drawn up on 12 August A.D. 171, only two months before No. 7, and [Στέφανος] and [δια Σερήνου] are of the right length for the lacunae at the beginning of the first two lines of the present ostrakon.

[Στέφανος] καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτ(ῶ) ἐπιτι(ηρηται) ἱερᾶς πύλ(ης) Σοή(νης)
[διὰ Σερήνου] βοη(θοῦ). διέγρ(αψεν) Πασήτης Μεσουήρεω(ς)
[μη(τρός) ± 7] ὑπ(έρ) λαογ(ραφίας) ια (ἔτους) δραχ(μάς) δε-
[καεπτὰ ὀβολ(όν), (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) ιζ (ὀβολός), μερι]σ(μόν)
ἐπικεφαλ(ίου) ἀνδ(ριάντος) ἀνακεχ(ρυσωμένου)

5 [± 20] . . (ἔτους) ιβ Ἀνρηλίου
[Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κ]υρίου Φαῶφι ιδ.

2 Μεσουήρεως: eta corrected

Stephanus and his associates, supervisors of the Sacred Gate of Syene, through Serenus, assistant. Pasetis son of Mesoueris and . . . has

paid, for the poll tax of the 11th year, seventeen drachmas one obol, equal 17 dr. 1 ob., and for the capitation tax for the gilded statue. . . . Year 12 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phaophi 14.

4 See No. 6.6-7 and notes.

6 Φαῶφι ἰδ̄: 12 October (not 11, since the preceding year is a leap year).

No. 8

TAX RECEIPT

Inv. 3151

4.5 × 5.5 cm.

Reign of Antoninus
Pius or Marcus
Aurelius

The first two lines of this fragmentary ostrakon can be restored on the basis of W.O. II 286 (with BL II, p. 53), a receipt issued in a twelfth year, either of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 148/149) or Marcus Aurelius (171/172); see editor's note ad loc. The name of the tax in the present text cannot be recovered.

[Ἄνιππος Διδύ(μου) κα]ἰ Ἄμνις πράκ(τορες)

[ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ἐλεφ(αντίνης) διὰ βο]η(θοῦ). διέγρ(αψεν) Πατχ()

[± 13] πε. . τχ() ὑπ(έρ)

[± 10 δρα]χ(μὰς) τέσσαρε(ς), (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

5 [(ἐτους) ± 7 Ἐπει]φ θ⁻.

4 τέσσαρας

Anippus son of Didymus and Amnis, collectors of money taxes of Elephantine, through their assistant. Patch() son of . . . and . . . has paid, for . . . , four drachmas, equal 4 dr. Year . . . Epeiph 9.

1-2 The restorations are taken from W.O. II 286 (see above) except that 1) ἀργ(υρικῶν) not ἀργ(υρικῆς) is used, in conformity with modern practice, and 2) Ἐλεφ(αντίνης) is read instead of the editor's Ἐ(λ)εφ(αντίνης); I assume the latter to be an attempt to indicate *Verschleifung*.

5 Ἐπει]φ θ⁻: 3 July.

No. 9

LIST

Inv. 3152

5 × 5 cm.

2nd cent. A.D.

This incomplete ostrakon lists various items and records sums in drachmas and obols, possibly the prices paid for them. Lines 2 and 3 deal with a warp and a woof (cf. *κρόκη καὶ στήμων*, P. Lille 6.12). The *φοινικ*() in line 5 is perhaps to be resolved as *φοινικ(ίδος)*, "purple cloth," a word appropriate to the context. The *ι*, *ιξ* and *ια* at the beginning of lines 2, 4, and 6 may signify days of a month.

 ..[
ι στήμ[ων
 κρόκη[
ιξ (δραχμαὶ) ρπ (τετρώβολον)[
 5 ὑπ(ἐρ) φοινικ() (δραχμαὶ?) .[
ια (πεντώβολον)[
 .[

No. 10

LIST

Inv. 3153

3.5 × 3.5 cm.

2nd cent. A.D.

The precise purpose of this badly damaged ostrakon is no longer discernible. The text consists of a list of names, with one occurrence of a sum of money, preceded by the number 2 (line 4); the latter may be the day of the month on which the money was paid. The left margin contains a check mark opposite the name in line 3, and two signs which resemble the symbol for ἡμισυ followed by a dot. These signs, which occur in lines 2 and 4, resemble those found in O. Heidelberg 288 (= P. Heidelberg 64). The sign in line 4 stands opposite a sum of money and perhaps means that only half of the amount had been paid. If a sum follows the name in line 2, the notation may have the same meaning there.

 . [. .] . [
 L. Κλωτ. [
 = Θωκ. [

L: β̄ (δραχμαὶ) € (πεντάβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) .[
 5 Τισᾶτις[
 Τιφ[

No. 11

PRIVATE LETTER (?)

Inv. 3169

11 × 8 cm.

7th/8th cent. A.D.

A very fragmentary text in Sahidic Coptic, probably from a private letter. The hand bears a resemblance to No. 199 verso in Stefanski-Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (Plate IV), which the editors assign to the seventh or eighth century of our era (see introd., p. 1).

]ϣϣ
]ϣαμαϣϣ
].. αειχοογσογ
].. ϣ †νογ εϣωπε
 5].. ϣοογ ϣενα .. πεια
]̄ϣενεϣαϣ
]. αβι /

3 αειχοογσογ 4 †νογ: † corrected from τ

5 ϣενα .. πεια: ϣ corrected, perhaps from ω

... for(?) flax ... I sent them ... Now if ... day

5 The articulation is uncertain; perhaps ϣενα is a personal name, and πεια may be the name of a locality near Syene (see Budge, *Misc. Coptic Texts*, 472; cited by Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, s.v. εια). After ϣενα the ostrakon appears to have ηρ, but the vertical stroke of the latter swings strangely to the right, and we may be dealing with an abbreviation.

6 Again the articulation is uncertain, but it is tempting to read ̄ϣ<α> ενεϣ.

APPENDIX: NOTES ON THE HAYNES OSTRACA⁴

⁴ N.B. Throughout the following notes, G. = E. J. Goodspeed, the editor of the Haynes Ostraca. In citing G.'s transcriptions I have brought his editorial symbols into conformity with modern practice. G. used the dot to indicate

No. 1 (Inv. 3162, SB I 4352)

5-8 The following should be read:

[δραχ(μὰς)] ἐννέα, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) θ, μερ(ισμοῦ) (δραχμὰς) [± 5]
 [διὰ] Λέοντος γραμμα[τέως. (ἔτους) ιε]
 [Τραιαν]οῦ Καίσαρος
 [τοῦ κ]υρίου Θ[ὠθ κ

For μερ(ισμοῦ) (δραχμὰς), G. had read μει.[For μερισμοῦ, see W.O. II 102.

The date is August/September A.D. 111, not 95 as G. thought (see O. Tait II 454.3 note).

No. 3 (Inv. 3157, SB I 4354)

4 Read ποταμοφυλ(ακίδος) ιθ (ἔτους) [(δραχμὰς) . (ἔτους) ιθ Τραιανοῦ]. G. read ποταμοφυλικί[δος (δραχμὰς) . (ἔτους) ιθ Τραιανοῦ. (SB has ποταμοφυλικί[δος.)

No. 4 (Inv. 3156, SB I 4355)

2-3 The ostrakon has the following:

[...]. πραισιδ(ίου) Σοήνη(ς) Τισᾶτι χα(ίρειν).
 [ἔσ]χ(ομεν) παρὰ σο(ῦ) ὑπέρ μη() κιτῶνος

G. had read

....]. πραισιδ(ίου) Σοή(νης?) Ηλι() Τισασιχου
 ἔσ]χ(ομεν) παρὰ σο(ῦ) ὑπὲρ παικισωνος

For κιτῶν as a spelling of χιτῶν, cf., e.g., WB II s.v. χιτῶν. Possibly μη() is to be expanded as μη(νιαίου); we would then be dealing with a monthly tax directed toward the purchase of tunics for the military personnel stationed at the praesidium of Syene. I know of no other instance of this particular manifestation of the *vestis militaris*, but something similar may appear in O. Haynes 13 (see below).

In the next line the ostrakon appears to have]υπαχω(). G.'s]ὑπὲρ χω(ματικοῦ) cannot be read, as Wallace had already suspected (*Taxation* 300). The end of this line is still obscure.

damaged but certain letters, as well as uncertain letters. In modern editions it is generally used only to denote the latter, but I have usually not discussed the propriety of dots except where the reading is crucial. It should also be noted that twice in O. Haynes (11.2 and 12.2), G. employs the resolution ἀργ(υρικῆς) or ἀργυρικ(ῆς). This is now known to be ἀργυρικῶν.

No. 5 (Inv. 3165, SB I 4356)

4-5 G. had read the date thus, (ἔτους) α Α[δριανοῦ] Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου. When Preisigke republished the ostrakon in SB, he noted: "Das Jahr 1 dauert aber nur vom 8/8 117-28/8 117; wahrscheinlich ist α unrichtig gelesen." Although the surface is badly damaged, I seem to discern a β after (ἔτους). Line 5, though written with extreme *Verschleifung*, is not really doubtful. The month and day are completely obliterated.

No. 6 (Inv. 3161, SB I 4357)

2-3 Read πο[τ]α[μοφυ]λ(ακίδος) (πο[τ]α[μοφυλα]κ(ίδος) G.).

4 Read Τῦβ(ι) ιζ after ἔγρ(αψα). G. failed to read anything.

No. 7 (Inv. 3163, SB I 4358)

4 β is not doubtful.

Read (δίχαλκον); G. read χα(λκοῦν).

6 Read κζ (κθ G.).

No. 8 (Inv. 3158, SB I 4359)

2 Read Πετορζμήθεω(ς) (Πετορζμήθεω[ς] G.).

4 β is a certain reading.

6 Ostrakon has κζ; G. read κζ.

No. 9 (Inv. 3160, SB I 4360)

8 Read ρυπ(αρὰς) δραχμ(ὰς) δεκαεπτὰ ὀβολ(όν). G. had read (δραχμὰς) ιζ (ὀβολόν) δραχμ(ὸς) δέκα ἐπτὰ ὀβολ(όν).

No. 12 (Inv. 3164, SB I 4363)

2 After ὕ(πέρ) the scribe seems to have written a mu, probably the beginning of μερισμοῦ. He then realized that the phrase did not belong here and stopped.

3 Here G. read only Π. μηθ() μητ(ρὸς) The ostrakon has Πετορ(ζμήθις) Πετορζμήθ(ιος) μητ(ρὸς) Τισῶτ[ις].

No. 13 (Inv. 3172, SB I 4364)

1 G. read γερ(διακοῦ) (ἔτους) ια. but the ostrakon appears to have νη() κιθ(). It is tempting to equate this with the phrase μη() κιθῶνος of O. Haynes 4 (see above), and to regard νη() as a mistake for μη(), if the latter is to be resolved μη(νιαίου).

4 Read ιε (ιε G.).

5 Read Ψευθατρῆς Ἀραμέως (Ψευθατρῆ Σαράμεως G.). The correct articulation was already suggested by Spiegelberg (*ad* SB I 4364).

No. 14 (Inv. 3159, SB I 4365)

6 G. read $\overline{\kappa\theta}$, but the theta is not doubtful.

No. 15 (Inv. 3171, SB I 4366)

On palaeographical grounds the text should be assigned to the third century A.D., not to the second as G. suggested. Somewhat similar is P. Lugd. Bat. I 20 (3rd cent. A.D.).

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

AN ETRUSCAN SATYR MASK IN THE FOGG ART MUSEUM

JOHN OLESON

IN 1964 the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University purchased an Etruscan terracotta satyr mask.¹ The acquisition appears to be a piece of architectural sculpture, and its scale and high relief make it a notable addition to the *corpus* of this material.

The mask (see fig. 1-3), which measures .29 m. high by .20 m. wide, is composed of a pale, cream-colored clay heavily tempered with sand containing a high proportion of crystalline black material and fired to a hard consistency. The surface is considerably weathered and abraded, and a large fragment of the right side of the face has been lost, but the details and the modeling are still clear. There have been no restorations. With the possible exception of a projection behind the beard, the circumference of the mask is formed by fractures which reveal the loss of further parts of the fabric. In the central part of the face small holes have worn or broken through at the inner corners of both eyes and at the outer corner of the right one. The indentations or pockmarks which appear at several points are either the accidental result of modeling in the soft *impasto* or the hollows left after the leaching out of soft inclusions in the clay. The present rough surface of the face was probably originally hidden by the application of a slip, but this covering has disappeared, with the possible exception of a fragment filling a small hole on the left side of the nose. The fractures along the back of the mask, however, reveal in cross section the presence of a clearly defined

¹ Fogg number 1964. 9. Purchased with funds provided by the David M. Robinson bequest. Munzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel, Special List of Terracottas, 1962, lot 98.

I wish to thank Professors G. M. A. Hanfmann and D. G. Mitten for reading the manuscript of this article and for providing their valuable advice. I also thank the Fogg Museum for permission to publish the mask, the University Museum of Philadelphia for permission to reproduce figs. 4 and 5, and the Comune di Roma for permission to reproduce figs. 6-8.

In the notes "Andrén" will refer to A. Andrén, "Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples," *Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 6 (1939-1940).

thin surface layer of fine clay, and it appears that the inside was washed with this cream-colored slip. This coating, however, cannot be the same as the slip which must once have covered the face, for it was applied before firing and adheres tightly to the fabric. The chalky slip and paint of Italian architectural terracottas of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods was often applied only after the piece had been fired,² and consequently their surfaces are usually quite friable.

The mask is an exuberant representation of a satyr's grotesque physiognomy. The pronounced bossing of the temples, the deep furrow of the brow, and the patterned knot of flesh at the root of the nose convey a striking impression of the bestial nature of the subject, an impression reinforced by the flaring, bulbous nostrils at the end of the bridgeless nose. The wild, staring eyes (which lack any indication of the pupil) are effectively stylized and set off by the thick rims of the eyelids, while arching eyebrows spring from the bulge at the root of the nose and taper off to enclose fleshy pouches above each eye. The drooping lower lip is framed by the full moustache and by the beard, which is modeled in a bilaterally symmetrical pattern of arabesques. In a similar fashion the hair tumbles down each side of the head and, on the preserved left side, ends in a finial of two tight, opposed curls in front of and below the flame-shaped, equine ear. The hair on top of the head has been greatly abraded, but two rosettes, or berry clusters, and the fragment of a leaf survive which must have formed part of the appropriate Dionysiac crown of leaves, berries, and *taenia*.³

An immediately striking characteristic of the mask is the marked asymmetry of the construction of the face. A line run from the center of the mouth, over the nose, and between the eyes bends slightly to the viewer's right of the vertical, while the two temporal bosses are set off markedly to the left. This almost unparalleled deviation⁴ can perhaps

² H. Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien* (Berlin 1912) 14. Andr n pp. CXXIV-CXXV. I. S. Ryberg, "An Archaeological Record of Rome," *Studies and Documents* 13 (1940) 183-184.

³ This crown is a frequent attribute of Etruscan satyrs of all periods, especially of those represented on antefixes, where it follows a fairly stereotyped pattern. The examples are numerous; see especially Andr n pls. 20.64-65, 23.84, 30.107, 32.113, 62.201, 68.220, 87.310, 107.384, 121.426, 145.505-507, 157.532, 157.535, 158.539-540.

⁴ There is a distorted satyr head antefix from the temple of Lo Scasato at C vita Castellana, Andr n's classification I:20 (p. 132); for a photograph see G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan 1935) pl. CCCXXIII.1. See also the possibly accidentally distorted gorgon antefix from Caere: E. D. Van Buren, *Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium* (London 1921) p. 8 and



FIG. 1. Antefix in Fogg Museum, front view.



FIG. 2. Antefix in Fogg Museum, side view.

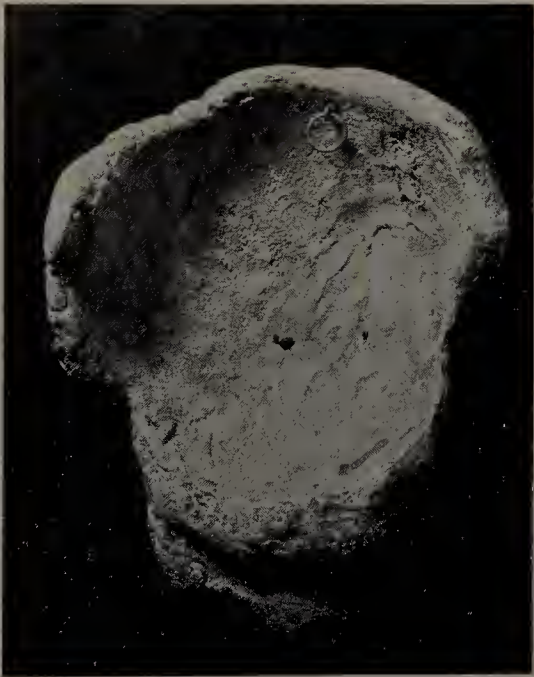


FIG. 3. Antefix in Fogg Museum, back view.



FIG. 4. Antefix in University Museum,
no. MS 1815, front.



FIG. 5. Antefix in University Museum,
no. MS 1815, side.



FIG. 6. Antefix from Largo Argentina,
front view.



FIG. 7. Antefix from Largo Argentina,
side view.

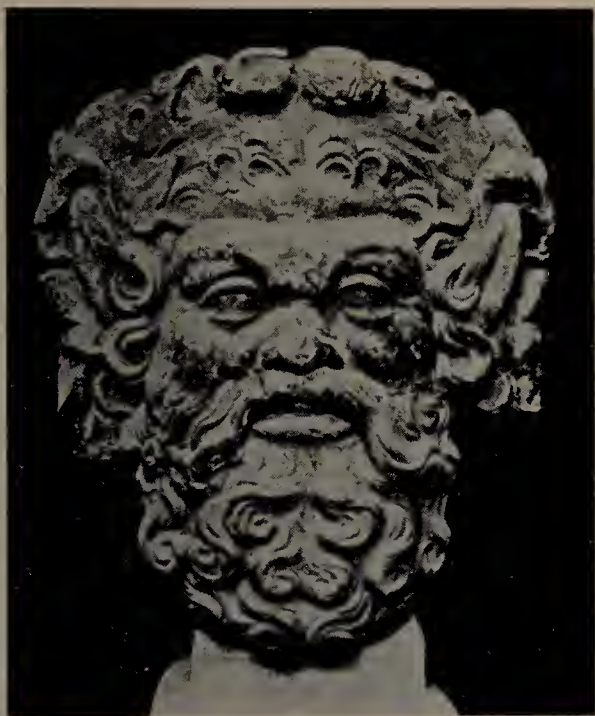


FIG. 8. Antefix in Rome, Antiquarium Communale,
no. 3348, front view.

be best explained by the manner in which the artist constructed the face. Since the clay has fortunately preserved the marks made by his fingers on the inside of the mask, it is possible to surmise the stages of manufacture. The mask was worked without the use of a mold, like many similar Etruscan pieces of the fourth and third century B.C., and marks of the modeling tools are visible at numerous places on the hair and flesh. The artist naturally began with the rough oval formed by the central part of the face, for this section forms a unit, easily separable from the sides and top of the head. The pattern of grooves formed by the artist's fingers as he smoothed the back of the mask forms a clear teardrop shape (with the point downward) centered directly behind the face, extending from the temples to the chin. After modeling this central part, he built on to it the arc of hair, including the ears. The granular pattern of the fabric behind this part of the mask clearly intrudes upon the smoothed and patterned surface of the central section, while on the front this join runs along the line between face and scalp, extending from the left temple to the angle between the left ear and jaw. Despite the artist's working of the visible surface, the seam is partially revealed by a leaching of the fabric over the left temple and by the mark of a tool along the rest of the line. The asymmetry in the axis of the face could thus have arisen from a miscalculation of the join between the two pieces composing the face and hair.⁵ On the other hand, the aberration may be a conscious addition to the already distorted grotesqueness of the rest of the face, a deliberate feature which can be noted in the satyr mask from the temple of Lo Scasato at Cívita Castellana (see n. 4).

Although any Etruscan terracotta of this subject and general design is with great likelihood a piece of architectural decoration, the lifesize or slightly over-lifesize scale of the Fogg mask and the nearly full round scheme of its modeling make any immediate comprehension of its

pl. II.4. This piece is referred to as an appliqué by Andrén (pp. 35-36), who illustrates two companion pieces on pls. 10.36, 10.39.

⁵ Technical discussions concerning individual Etruscan antefixes are unfortunately not common; for a discussion relevant to the problems of the Fogg mask, see A. Andrén, "Due frammenti di statue fittili votive di Ardea," *Studi in Onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome 1965) 17-18. Andrén here shows that the head of a female votive statue was constructed in two main parts: the front and sides of the head were built up with horizontal strips of clay, while the hair was added later by means of the application of vertical strips. See also Andrén pl. 129.452 for the fragment of the upper part of a (possible) gorgon antefix from which the face has broken away quite cleanly along parts of the hairline, thus suggesting the presence of a seam.

original function difficult. It is easy, however, to eliminate the possibility that the mask formed part of a free-standing votive, or other non-architectural, statue. The subject alone would make this suggestion unlikely,⁶ and the slightly flattened, frontal modeling of the mask, along with the cursory treatment of the hair and ear, reinforce this objection.

The suggestion that the piece was some form of architectural decoration opens up several possibilities. From the end of the fifth up to the first century B.C., there were essentially five different forms of Etruscan terracotta architectural decoration utilizing figured design: figured revetment plaques, acroterial figures, *columen* and *mutulus* plaques, pedimental sculpture, and antefixes.⁷ The possibility of assigning the Fogg mask to a figured revetment plaque of known type can be immediately rejected, for the head is too large to have appeared in such a situation. The appealing archaic plaques, with their full-figure scenes, are obviously based on a much smaller scale, while the existing examples of Hellenistic revetment tiles, which often utilized only the disembodied masks of satyrs and maenads as part of their decoration, are also too small to accommodate the Fogg mask.⁸ The same objections that were raised against the possibility of free-standing sculpture also make it unlikely that the mask formed part of an acroterial figure.⁹ Andrén suggests that a satyr mask from Caere (of the late fourth or early third century) may have served as an acroterion in the manner of a similar

⁶ Freestanding Etruscan terracotta statues were usually votive in character, and for this purpose the image of the god or the devotee was the appropriate subject — neither of which categories include satyrs. See P. J. Riis "Etruscan Statuary Terracottas — Archaic and Classical — in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek," *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* 3 (1942) 26.

⁷ E. H. Richardson, "Terracotta Sculpture" (in "Cosa II") *MAAR* 26 (1960) 303. Richardson feels there is no evidence that any one temple possessed examples of all five categories at once.

⁸ Andrén pp. CCXX–CCXXI. For archaic examples see Andrén pls. 4.6, 4.7, 24.85–88, 104.371, 126.442–443, 127.444–446; these plaques are between .15 and .30 m. high. For some Hellenistic examples which utilize masks as part of their design see Andrén pls. 21.68, 75.257, 77.260–261, 124.438, 132.459–460; these plaques vary between .17 and .46 m. in height, but the masks themselves never approach the scale of the Fogg example.

⁹ A comment by Richardson (above, n. 7) 364 should be noted: "There is no evidence that life-size statues were used to decorate the roofs of temples in the Hellenistic period; so one can assume that any statue of that scale, if it is not a freestanding ex-voto or cult image, was part of a pedimental composition." For a list of examples see Andrén p. CCXXVII. Most of these are between one-half and three-quarters life size, although the fragmentary figure of Mercury from Cività Castellana (pl. 44.143) could perhaps be restored to a height of ca. 1.50 m. This last figure, however, may not be an acroterion at all (see Andrén p. 117).

class of gorgoneia,¹⁰ but this piece is constructed in a very flat relief quite different from that of the Fogg mask.¹¹ A third possibility, that the mask formed part of a plaque covering the end of the *columen* (central roof beam) or of one of the *mutuli* (longitudinal eave beams) on the facade of an Etruscan temple, is also easily eliminated. The identified fragments of such plaques all seem to preserve sections of full-figure scenes of less than .5 m. in height, a scale far smaller than that of the Fogg mask.¹²

The two final possibilities, that the mask was part of a pedimental group or an antefix, deserve closer scrutiny. The number of terracotta pedimental groups from Etruscan temples of the Hellenistic period reveals the popularity of this type of decoration.¹³ Although Andrén seems to have been overly generous in his identification of pedimental groups,¹⁴ there do exist examples which make it possible to outline the main characteristics of the type. The figures were usually modeled against sturdy terracotta background plaques, with the lower portions of the body firmly attached by means of armatures or merely raised above the surface of the plaque in high relief, while the head and shoulders and the upper limbs could be modeled free of the plaque behind them.¹⁵ Such a technique makes the inclusion of the Fogg head in a pedimental composition quite possible, for it would have formed part of those portions usually modeled in the round. Like the Fogg mask, Etruscan pedimental figures were usually modeled by hand, since they were unique in design and relatively well-protected from weather damage.¹⁶

The subject matter of Etruscan pedimental groups falls into two categories — assemblies of deities and narrative mythological scenes —¹⁷

¹⁰ Andrén pp. CCXXVI–CCXXVII. A late fourth- or third-century Medusa head from Cívita Castellana (Andrén p. 134, I:33, pl. 51.161) seems especially close to the Fogg mask in style and, to a certain extent, in design.

¹¹ Andrén pp. CCXXVI–CCXXVII and p. 58, IV:9. The function of this satyr mask is uncertain. For an illustration see *StEtr* 10 (1936) 77 and pl. XXVIII.2, where Mengarelli says it is “forse di antefissa.”

¹² See Andrén pp. CCIX–CCXI and CCXX for lists of examples. In the fourth century this element of decoration was giving way to pedimental figures; Andrén pp. CCXII–CCXIII.

¹³ Andrén pp. CCXI ff. Richardson (above, n. 7) 307, 364.

¹⁴ Andrén pp. CCXI–CCXX. Richardson (above, n. 7) 364 expresses doubt concerning some of the attributions.

¹⁵ Richardson (above, n. 7) 310. Andrén p. CCXI and pl. C.

¹⁶ Andrén p. CCXII.

¹⁷ Richardson (above, n. 7) 307–308. Andrén p. CCXVI.

and the latter division could often have included satyrs.¹⁸ In addition, the size of the Fogg mask for once does not disqualify it from consideration, for, although many of the surviving pedimental groups are only three-quarter life size or smaller, fully life-size figures do appear.¹⁹ In addition, it could be argued that the irregularities in the design of the face were ignored by the artist because the mask formed part of a pedimental composition in which it was turned sharply to the right, a posture which conceals the asymmetry.

There are, however, several details which make attribution to a pedimental group hazardous. The mask is not modeled fully in the round, for the proportions from front to back are too short for a free-standing head, and the modeling of the side of the face is cursory. A more crucial difficulty is posed by the clean edge around the beard and by the profiled edge of the buttress across the back of the beard, which bears no traces of having lost any connecting material to a neck.²⁰ The absence of such indications make it difficult to argue that the mask was part of a head attached to a torso.

The final alternative of an antefix is more likely to be correct. Satyrs and maenads were the staple motifs of this category of Etruscan architectural decoration, but the size and high relief of the Fogg mask set it apart from other examples. A third aberration, the markedly asymmetrical design of the face, has only two possible parallels,²¹ although the technical explanation given above seems to be a logical one. None of these difficulties is crucial.

The Fogg mask is obviously larger than the great majority of Etruscan antefixes, although its scale is not unique. It appears probable, however, both from its size and design, that the mask could not have formed the central part of a shell antefix. The addition of a palmette shell of the usual proportions relative to the head would have resulted in an

¹⁸ Several second-century pedimental groups representing the discovery of Ariadne by Dionysos and including these creatures have been found at Cività Alba. Andrén pp. 298-300, pl. 98.355, 100.358-359.

¹⁹ Richardson (above, n. 7) 364.

²⁰ The photographs of figs. 2 and 3 make the projection behind the beard appear more irregular than it actually is. This buttress fits naturally into the smooth contours of the inside of the mask, and in horizontal section it displays a regular oval profile projecting backwards behind the face; it must have served to strengthen the mask by providing a lower rim to buttress the transition between the heavy fabric of the beard and the thin material composing the center of the face. The metal ring visible in fig. 3 is a modern mounting attachment.

²¹ See n. 4.

unparalleled construction possibly .75 m. in height. Furthermore, the deep hollow behind the mask and the thin fabric of the face make it too flimsy to have formed part of such a large, heavy decoration. Although rare in this period, as Andrén notes, frameless antefixes do occur, and several examples from Rome (discussed below) are of great significance in an evaluation of the Fogg mask.²²

The final difficulty is an explanation of the way in which the Fogg mask could have been attached as an antefix to the eaves of a temple, for its hollow, highly plastic construction differs from the flat relief of most antefixes. The usual Etruscan antefix presented no problem, for it could project like a flat plate above the level of the tile it covered and be supported by a strut in back if necessary.²³ There is no evidence for the presence of a strut on the Fogg mask, and the size and design of the piece again make such an explanation unlikely.

One possible solution to this problem is suggested by a number of archaic maenad and satyr antefixes from Caere, Satricum, and Capua in which the rim of the upper part of the head is connected directly to the semicircular end of the roof tile, while the lower half of the face hangs free below²⁴ (see figs. 4 and 5). A restored cross section of the Fogg head forms a semicircular profile which could fit this arrangement quite well, and the broken edge forming the perimeter of the mask shows that material has been lost here. The raised edge behind the beard would in this case clearly serve as a buttress between the beard and the face. The lack of an abrupt transition between the face and scalp, however, and the extension of the ear and hair back along the side of the head on the Fogg mask are features unparalleled in other antefixes of this type. It could be suggested that the alterations are the

²² Andrén pp. CCXXXI–CCXXXII; he cites examples from the Esquiline, pl. 107.384, from Palestrina, pl. 116.409, and from Capua; for the last group see also Koch (above, n. 2) pls. XVII.3, 5–8, XIX.2–6.

²³ See Andrén pl. G for illustrations of examples with and without struts.

²⁴ See Van Buren (above, n. 4) pls. VI and VIII for side views of some antefixes, and compare these plates with the discussions in S. B. Luce *AJA* 24 (1920) 29, figs. 1 and 2, and Andrén pp. 20–22 (pl. 6.13–16, 18), pp. 32–34 (pl. 9.28–30), and p. CXXXVIII. While the first group is rather small (.13–.18 m. in height), the last one more closely approximates the size of the Fogg mask (.22–.27 m.).

There is a satyr antefix from Capua in Koch (above, n. 2) p. 70, and pl. XVIII.1a–b which utilizes this form of mounting (.17 m. high). Koch's description is precise and interesting: "Die halbzyklindrischen Kalyptere . . . setzen horizontal in Scheitelhöhe des Kopfes an und reichen bis an die Schnurrbartenden; ein Teil des Vollbartes, reichlich ein drittel der ganzen Maske, hing frei" (p. 70).

result of a Late Classical or Hellenistic taste for realism, but such a conjecture must remain hypothetical.

A satyr head antefix found during the excavation of Temple C in the Largo Argentina shows a more satisfying method by which the Fogg head could have been mounted²⁵ (see figs. 6 and 7). The piece was modeled in the round, but in slightly flattened proportions, and then attached upright to the tile at the level of the neck. Both the general design and the plastic effect of unattached sculpture correspond with the Fogg mask, although the latter piece probably lacked any indication of a bust. The rough chronological and stylistic correspondence between the two adds to the probability that this solution is correct. The Fogg mask, then, will have lost part of the top, as well as the back of the head, which together would have tapered into a smooth connection with the tile behind. The thin clay of each cheek would have extended back to form the connection on the side, and the extension behind the beard would have served to buttress the lower part of the face. This design differs considerably from the usual antefix type, but the general effect would have remained the same when such pieces were mounted on the eaves of a temple.

The questions of date and provenience still remain. The date of the mask is fairly easy to settle, at least within the broad chronological boundaries which can be applied to Central Italian art of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. The thick, plastic locks of hair reflect the influence of late fifth- and fourth-century sculptural innovations in Greece, while the full, soft modeling of the fleshy face reveals progress beyond the archaic style, which had influenced Etruscan art through much of the fifth century. There are a number of other fourth-century Etruscan antefixes which closely parallel the general effect of the hair and face — especially such features as the drooping lower lip and the

²⁵ Ryberg (above, n. 2) p. 190 and fig. 189. Now lost. Neither Ryberg nor Marchetti-Longhi (in *BullComm* 60 (1932) 305, fig. 18) gives the measurements of the piece. Ryberg dates the antefix to the fourth or third century B.C., while Andr n (in his short discussion on p. 349) apparently feels that it is later than the second half of the fourth century, the date of the construction of Temple C. For an earlier Capuan antefix of roughly the same configuration see Koch (above, n. 2) p. 71 and pl. XIX.1; Koch points out that this antefix is hollow, just as the Fogg mask would have been and as the antefix from the Largo Argentina appears to be. A first century B.C. satyr antefix from Caere (Andr n p. 63, VI: B:1, p. 21.74) looks very similar to the Largo Argentina antefix and is said to be hollow in back, supported by a flying strut; but it is impossible to judge the relevance of this possible parallel as long as the piece from the Largo Argentina is missing.

furrowed forehead.²⁶ A further common trait is the generally good-humored, or at least not overly feral, rudeness of expression which Andrén assigns to this period.²⁷ P. J. Riis has suggested some more precise dates for Etruscan antefixes than Andrén ventured,²⁸ and these parallels would place the Fogg mask firmly within the second half of the fourth century B.C. A number of stylistic parallels are also found outside the category of architectural sculpture: the large bronze statuette of a satyr killing a snake in Munich, for example,²⁹ and perhaps the satyr (or silenus) incised on the Ficoroni cista.³⁰

In 1889, during repair of the Via dei Serpenti on the Esquiline, a satyr antefix was found which shows a striking resemblance to the Fogg mask³¹ (see fig. 8). A deep furrow crosses the forehead, and there is a similar knot of flesh above the broken ridge of the nose. Similar heavy lids circle the eyes and are in turn framed by the arching eyebrows, which taper off above the fleshy pouches over each eye. In addition, two berry clusters sit on top of the head and form part of an ivy wreath, a feature once present on the Fogg mask, but now almost completely effaced. On both examples the hair tumbles symmetrically down each side of the head and mixes with the plastic locks of the beard. Most striking of all is the similar arrangement of the locks of hair around the ears: on both examples the upper lock curls into the flame-shaped ear, while a lower lock of hair skirts the lower edge and winds back toward the front in a tight curl resembling an earring. The ears and scalp of the antefix from Rome protrude markedly, following the plane of the face rather than describing the side of the head, but this is merely a

²⁶ For satyr head antefixes dated to the fourth and third century B.C. see Andrén pls. 20.64-65, 23.81, 23.83, 27.96, 34.116, 34.118, 35.121, 44.145, 68.220, 68.222-223, 69.225, 107.384, 158.539-540.

²⁷ Andrén p. CCXXXI.

²⁸ See P. J. Riis "Notes on Etruscan Terracottas," *ActaA* 12 (1941) 66-78, for a discussion of Andrén's book, and note especially the chart on p. 71 which lists a number of satyr antefixes of the period between 370/350 and 300/275 B.C.; these correspond to Andrén pls. 21.74, 23.83, 34.116, 34.118, 35.121, 44.145, 68.222, 69.225, 158.539-540.

²⁹ See M. Pallottino, *Mostra dell' Arte e della Civiltà Etrusca* (Milan 1955) p. 102 no. 341, "ultimi decenni del IV sec. a.C." (pl. LXXIX), and M. Pallottino and M. Hurlimann, *Art of the Etruscans* (New York 1955) no. 102, p. 150, "mid fourth century B.C."

³⁰ P. J. Riis, *An Introduction to Etruscan Art* (Copenhagen 1953) 71-72, "the third quarter of the fourth century," (pl. 56).

³¹ Andrén pp. 345-346, no. II.1, pl. 107.384. See the accounts by G. Gatti in *NSc* 1889, 159 and by C. L. Visconti in *BullComm* 17 (1889) 223. Now in the Antiquarium Comunale, no. 3348. The lower lip and part of the beard are restored.

result of the flatter design of the piece. The general stylistic parallels with the Fogg head remain quite close. It is also significant that the clay composing the antefix from the Esquiline — “yellowish-grey with particles of augite” —³² is similar to that of the Fogg mask, although the former piece does differ in preserving its polychromy.³³ Andrén does not date this piece with any exactness, merely lumping it in with the postarchaic material from the Esquiline, but the similarities with the Fogg mask would certainly place it in the same period, the second half of the fourth century B.C.³⁴

This concatenation of similarities in style, clay, and general design (the noteworthy absence of palmette frames) tends to suggest that the original provenience of the Fogg mask was Rome or the neighboring region. It is nevertheless difficult to formulate an adequate, and yet restrained, interpretation of these factors. The date of these two terracottas appears to be approximately the same, and the detailed similarity of the locks of hair around the ears cannot have been the result of chance. Therefore either the Fogg mask was modeled by the same artist who made the Esquiline mask, or one of the masks was copied from the other, or from a common prototype. If the antefix from the Esquiline was modeled freehand, as was the Fogg mask, it would be hard to argue that the latter could have been conceived outside Rome, for only

³² Andrén p. 346.

³³ Ryberg's description of the clay used in architectural terracottas in Rome during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods is interesting in this connection (above, n. 2) 184: . . . “few [of the later revetments from Rome] retain more than small traces of paint, and where any slip remains it is chalky white. The clay of some specimens contains red-brown lumps of terracotta and the appearance of the section is slightly yeasty. In other cases it is not very different in appearance from that of the earlier terracottas, cream or grayish buff in color and interspersed with even more numerous black particles of mica.” This type of clay appears to be characteristic of Late Classical and Hellenistic architectural terracottas in the vicinity of Rome, and works of similar physical composition have been found at Antemnae, Tivoli, Norba, Velletri, and Ardea (Andrén p. 367-368, 371, 389, 416, 440).

³⁴ A. W. Van Buren *JRS* 4 (1914) 190 attributes this antefix “perhaps to the end of the fifth century,” but the treatment of the hair of the scalp and beard would make this estimate seem too early. It should be noted that P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika* (Copenhagen 1941) 27, points out elements of a “late classical, archaizing style” in the piece and compares it with two other antefixes, from Cività Castellana (“B10” and “B11,” Andrén pl. 34.118, and pl. 34.116). Of the second parallel piece, B11, Riis writes (*ibid.* p. 53): “The very free rendering of the beard hints at the dependence upon Greek works, hardly earlier than the latter half of the 4th century.” It seems that the antefix from the Esquiline should be dated accordingly.

molds or an individual artist could have transported similarities as numerous and as marked as these. It is at least conceivable that both pieces once decorated the same temple, perhaps forming subsequent replacements for occasional damage to the original antefixes along its eaves. The Fogg mask would thus form a welcome addition to the growing *corpus* of Late Classical and Hellenistic architectural terracottas from Rome. It would be one of the *antefixa fictilia* cited by Cato as symbols of the unspoiled character of the city during the formative years of the Republic:

Iam nimis multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantes mirantesque et antefixa fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentes. Ego hos malo propitios deos, et ita spero futuros, si in suis manere sedibus patiemur.³⁵

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³⁵ Livy XXXIV.4.4-5.

A WHITE-GROUND CUP BY EUPHRONIOS*

JOAN R. MERTENS

EUPHRONIOS is known to us as one of the leading innovators within the first generation of Attic red-figure artists. He has left five vases signed as painter, and Sir John Beazley enumerates a further eighteen attributed works in *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (second edition).¹ Euphronios' signature as potter occurs at least sixteen times,²

*I wish to thank Mr. Bareiss for so generously allowing me to publish his kylix. The opportunity I owe to Mr. Dietrich von Bothmer, and I gratefully acknowledge all the new material that he brought to my attention, his constant encouragement to find and pursue significant leads, and his critical reading of the written drafts. Mr. von Bothmer also assembled the fragments and incorporated additions to the first group. I also thank Mr. Jiří Frel for his suggestions. The Metropolitan Museum loan number is L 1971.61.

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (hereafter cited as *ARV*²) (Oxford 1963) 13-17.

² *ARV*² 13, 313-314. Mr. von Bothmer has pointed out to me four further occurrences of the epoiesen signature, all on cups decorated by Onesimos; he also attributed the first, third, and fourth. N.Y., Bothmer, J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) (hereafter cited as *Para.*) 360,93ter; Munich, Bareiss 229, *Para.* 360,74ter (the inscription incorrectly given; ΙΟΣ ΕΓΟΙΕ is readily visible, and the entire signature can be made out); Munich, Bareiss 403, D. von Bothmer and Jacob Bean, *Greek Vases and Modern Drawings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss* (Metropolitan Museum of Art 1969) no. 83 (ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙ]ΟΣ ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ; Mr. von Bothmer compares the checker pattern with *ARV*² 320,8 and 326,91); Cambridge, Vermeule. I do not include the inscription within the tondo of a cup (now Munich). It reads ΤΕΛΕΣΙΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΥΘΡΟΝΙΟΣ ΕΛΡΑΦΣΕΝ (sic). Mr. von Bothmer has now also made important additions to the cup N.Y. 12.231.2 (*ARV*² 319,6). One fragment, comprising three pieces, fills the gap between Herakles and Klytios; it gives the left knee of Herakles, the remainder of the couch, and the buttocks and thighs of Klytios. The second larger fragment, joined of three, supplies the head and body of Herakles' adversary on the other side. The man is bearded, with Greek rather than oriental features, thus ruling out the interpretation of Herakles and Busiris suggested by Miss Richter in G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven 1936) 61. A third new fragment belongs at the root of the handle now restored in plaster. It shows where the original handle became detached and it preserves a small part of the four-legged table which seems to have had folding legs and at least two handles rising above the horizontal surface. The fourth, and smallest, piece belonged to the rim, but its exact place has not yet been determined.

and H. Bloesch credits him with the production of over sixty cups.³ The famous boast of Euthymides⁴ suggests that Euphronios achieved a certain prominence already in his own day. A new facet of his activity has now been revealed for the first time with a fragmentary cup acquired by Mr. Walter Bareiss of Greenwich, Connecticut, and currently on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (plate I).

The cup consists of four fragments,⁵ the two principal ones each made up of many smaller pieces. Seven repair holes show that the cup had been broken and mended in antiquity. This feature may indicate an Etruscan provenience, for, at a great distance from Athens, an exceptional vase was probably more readily mended than replaced. The diameter of the original cup was approximately 22.6 cm., the width 30.2 cm., and the depth of the bowl 4.9 cm. The stem and foot are lost, but in one place, a slight projection shows where the top of the stem joined the bowl (plate IVb). Of the handles, one is intact, the other broken and incomplete. The outside of the bowl forms a continuous, uninterrupted curve from stem to lip. It is covered with black glaze except for a reserved patch under each handle (plate IVa). The outside had no further decoration, unless there was a signature on the edge of the foot.

The inside of the cup presents a very different aspect. The lip is separated from the bowl by two devices. First, the lip is sharply offset, forming a three-dimensional frame 2.3 cm. wide (see drawing, p. 273). Secondly, the lip is black while the surface of the bowl proper has been covered with a dense, slightly yellowish white slip. Still more noteworthy is the combination of black-figure and outline⁶ used by the painter to decorate the white field. Although much is missing, enough remains to distinguish Dionysos with a satyr among grape-laden vine branches. The figure of Dionysos, on the left, shows the contours of the body, part of the right arm and the right hand, the neckline of the chiton,

³ H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen* (Bern 1940) 70–80.

⁴ Munich 2307 *ARV*² 26,1.

⁵ One fragment with a repair hole may not originally have belonged; it may have been added to complete the lip when the cup was mended in antiquity. Mr. von Bothmer called to my attention several other vases mended in antiquity with an alien fragment. Munich, Bareiss 14, von Bothmer and Bean, no. 22; Vatican *ARV*² 257,13; Munich, Bareiss 48 *ARV*² 1671, and *Para.* 421; Louvre G567, E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, 3rd ser. (Paris 1922) 292 and pl. 156. cf. D. von Bothmer in *AJA* 76, 1(1972), 9ff.

⁶ The technique corresponds to what Miss Haspels termed "semi-outline" (*Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* [Paris 1936] 110). The expression, however, is unsatisfactory insofar as it means "half-outline" and fails to specify the accompanying form of black-figure (e.g. silhouette, silhouette with incision, standard black-figure).



Profile of bowl. (Drawing by Dietrich von Bothmer.)

and the broad folds of the himation in relief line (plate II). Inner details consist of glaze diluted to various shades: a gradation from black to

brown in the locks of hair, a golden wash for the himation, a lighter hue for the crinkled chiton, and a pale ochre for the articulation of the preserved arm. Of the kantharos⁷ which Dionysos grasps, the top of the bowl, the left handle, and part of the right one remain; the vessel is black, contrasting with the light garments. In his left hand, Dionysos must have held the vine of which the branches surround each figure; the end of the vine and a bit of sleeve appear behind the satyr's back. The drawing combines glaze line and golden dilute for the stems, glaze with feathery projections for the leaves, and dots of thickened glaze together with blackish dilute for the grape clusters.

To the god's right stands a flute-playing satyr painted black (plate III). Enhanced by the contour line, the curves of his back, of his buttocks and tail suggest a firm and supple body. Incision delineates the hair and the anatomy: upper arm, shoulder blade, rib cage, and buttocks; differences in the thickness of the line contribute a sense of texture. The arching tail consists of thinned glaze and incision so combined as to suggest a rounded and resilient mass. The composition, as a whole, fills the bowl of the kylix easily and almost symmetrically. Moreover, the figures are set along the same horizontal axis as the handles. This calculated correlation provides an important insight into the contribution of the potter to a work such as this. Not only did he make the vase and prepare the areas of glaze, slip, and reserve, but he must also have participated in planning the arrangement of the figures.

Various features in the decoration and shape allow one to assign the cup, first, to its proper chronological place and, then, to one of the known personalities in the Kerameikos. The painter who decorated the cup was trained in the red-figure rather than the black-figure style. He treated the handle zone in the manner canonical for red-figure cups. In the rendering of Dionysos, he demonstrates his understanding and control of the possibilities offered by both the relief line and the dilute glaze. Where the vine branch and satyr tail intersect, he places the vine in front of the tail; a black-figure artist would normally have shown it behind, and hidden by, the tail. The most significant indication for a red-figure hand lies in the incised articulation of the satyr's body. The contrast between incision by a black-figure and red-figure master is comparable to the difference between an engraved and an etched print. In a satyr painted by Exekias⁸, the incisions appear even in strength;

⁷ Type Al. L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford 1931) I 14-15.

⁸ Budapest 50.189 *Para.* 61.

they reflect the effort of pushing a pointed tool through the glaze and into the leather-hard clay. A black-figure satyr by the Lysippides Painter⁹ shows more anatomical detail, but a similarly regular line. By contrast, in the satyr of the white-ground cup, the modulation in the incision corresponds to the modulation attainable with a brush, e.g. in Dionysos' chiton. The painter used his pointed tool like a brush, scratching more or less deeply on the surface of the clay rather than pushing into it.

Although the painter was well versed in red-figure, he must have been active during its initial phase. The relief-dot grape clusters provide one indication, for such details cease by c. 480 B.C.¹⁰ The combination of black-figure and outline is commonly associated with the later black-figure lekythoi by the Diosphos and Athena Painters.¹¹ Moreover, the execution is painstaking but also effortless; it maintains the integrity of form and detail to an extent which diminishes as red-figure painters learned to represent animated or transitory situations.

The decoration and quality of the white-ground cup point to those artists of the first red-figure generation whom Beazley has called the "Pioneer Group." While the shape of the cup is incomplete, what exists in no way contradicts the evidence of the decoration. In *Formen attischer Schalen*, Bloesch includes a number of small cups lipped only within.¹² His examples range in time from the late archaic through the classical periods. A significant number are early red-figure-late archaic and were decorated by Epiktetos, the Foundry Painter, Douris. One example, attributed to the Eleusis Painter, is both lipped within and white-ground.¹³ Although most of the potters are anonymous, Bloesch has associated several cups with the workshops of Pamphaios and Euergides.¹⁴ Attribution of the new cup to a specific potter must take two considerations into account. On the one hand, the most important concentration of early red-figure white-ground cups occurs in the circle of Onesimos. On the other hand, around the turn of the sixth century, a large number of establishments were producing small cups of Type C and Type B. The task is to find a potter of stature who collaborated with someone who seems to be one of the "pioneers" in red-figure painting.

⁹ Louvre F204 J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford 1956) (hereafter cited as *ABV*) 254, 1.

¹⁰ Among the last painters to use such accessories are the Kleophrades Painter, the Berlin Painter, the Eucharides Painter.

¹¹ Haspels 110-112, 153.

¹² Bloesch 137-139.

¹³ Eleusis 619 *ARV*² 315, 4.

¹⁴ Bloesch 64, 14 and 65, 23; 52, 11.

The three major painters of the Pioneer Group — Euphronios, Phintias, Euthymides — are closely linked in several respects. Their names appear on each other's vases.¹⁵ Rather than specialize in one shape, they decorated many, large and small, closed and open. Euphronios and Phintias not only painted but also made vases. Of the three, Euphronios seems to be the painter of the new white-ground cup. Considerable evidence exists for Euphronios' concern with cups. He is credited with five as painter (two of which are signed)¹⁶ and at least sixteen as potter; the decoration of at least fifteen in the latter group is attributed to Onesimos or his circle,¹⁷ and two of these have a white ground inside.¹⁸

Stylistically, numerous and significant correspondences exist between the cup here presented and works previously attributed to Euphronios. The famous calyx-krater in the Louvre with Herakles and Antaios¹⁹ supplies parallels for the drawing of the satyr, e.g. the tongue-like ribs from each of which projects a short, lightly drawn stroke, the shoulder blade, the line marking the junction of arm with back and neck, the peculiar wishbone-shaped wrist bone. Antaios' hair resembles the satyr's tail in that both show a wavy outline around an area of rather streaky dilute glaze. Herakles' hair illustrates the use of relief dots. His hand reveals the same firmly drawn fingers and paired lines for the knuckles and tendons. The symposiasts on the Louvre neck-amphora²⁰ provide a basis of comparison for the treatment of drapery. The vertical relief lines of Dionysos' himation are not mechanically straight or parallel; furthermore, the garment is juxtaposed visually with the finely pleated chiton. Such effects recur on the neck-amphora, which also shows one symposiast playing kottabos with an offset-lipped cup. The randomly strewn crosses on the god's himation can be matched on the recently acquired calyx-krater in Munich.²¹ The long, irregularly curled locks of Dionysos recur on the Antaios calyx-krater as well as on the Arezzo volute-krater.²² This particular feature is not especially

¹⁵ J. D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (London 1946), 19–20. Mr. von Bothmer mentioned to me a red-figure psykter (Geneva market) on which many figures are named and one is "Euphronios."

¹⁶ *ARV*² 16–17, 17–21.

¹⁷ *ARV*² 313 and n. 2 above.

¹⁸ *ARV*² 330,5 and 333,a.

¹⁹ Louvre G103 *ARV*² 14,2.

²⁰ Louvre G30 *ARV*² 15,9.

²¹ Munich 8935 *ARV*² 1619, 3bis and 1705; *Para.* 322. A symposiast here is drinking from a cup with lip offset. This and the adjacent figure, together with their elaborate couch, were added since *Paralipomena*.

²² Arezzo 1465 *ARV*² 15,6.

Euphronian, although one does note the pronounced curl and the hook at each end turned in the direction of the face. On side A of the Arezzo vase, the right-most Amazon provides one of several parallels for an extended finger serving a steadying function. The cup in Munich²³ shows the use of four almost parallel lines at the throat of the horse within and at the shoulder, elbow, and throat of Geryon's cattle; similar lines appear at the neckline of Dionysos' chiton. The wine god's kantharos is again silhouetted against light drapery on a fragmentary krater in the Louvre.²⁴ The vine leaves on the white cup have a distinctive configuration with their three lobes and feathering; a rather close parallel for this detail exists in the hair of the hetaira Agape on the Leningrad psykter.²⁵ To date, Euphronios has been credited with the decoration of numerous vessels used in symposia, notably kraters, stamnoi, psykters, and cups. He has left us representations of symposia and komoi, of Dionysos and his followers. The cup newly regained is the first that we have from his hand with a white ground and a Dionysiac subject.²⁶

The stylistic evidence for an attribution to Euphronios is considerable, and no other artist seems to meet the criteria so fully. Onesimos was a prolific late archaic cup painter with nine white-ground pieces attributed to or near him. He frequently depicted scenes with satyrs, yet, in detail, they differ from the style of the new kylix. For example, one cup in Boston²⁷ presents a blunter articulation of the ribs and the hair treated as a mass with wiry fringes. The cup in Baltimore²⁸ illustrates the same features as well as a different convention for the vines. The branches are thicker, the leaves are small and heart-shaped, the grape clusters are solid black, bordered by small dots on a reserved contour; the end of the vine branch is cut almost perpendicularly,

²³ Munich 2620 *ARV*² 16,17; while the triple and the double line frequently appear as an articulating device, the quadruple line seems to be a Euphronian feature.

²⁴ Louvre G33 *ARV*² 14,4; a kantharos silhouetted against a reserved, instead of white, ground appears as the shield device of two Amazons on the krater Arezzo 1465.

²⁵ Leningrad 644 *ARV*² 16,15; Euthymides employed this stylization as well (Munich 2309 *ARV*² 27,4), but created less of a separation between the lobes.

²⁶ It is also one of the first representations of Dionysos with the kantharos on a cup by a red-figure painter. Other such early cups, e.g. Berlin 2278 *ARV*² 21,1; Naples Stg. 5 *ARV*² 32,4; Akropolis 441 *ARV*² 333 show Dionysos, but in no case is any hand-held attribute preserved.

²⁷ Boston 10.179 *ARV*² 327,110.

²⁸ Baltimore, Society of the Archaeological Institute of America *ARV*² 320,10; cf. also Ferrara T196 *ARV*² 328,120.

while, on the white cup, it tapers to a sharp point. Representations of other subjects heighten the contrast with Euphronios still further. Onesimos employs a different convention for the rib cage;²⁹ he depicts a back with fewer and harsher relief lines³⁰ and omits the inner and outer contour of the wrist bone.³¹ He fails to exploit the values of dilute glaze and the possible contrasts with line. Onesimos was active during the latter part of Euphronios' career; while their styles are sometimes similar, they always remain distinct.

Phintias decorated cups at the same time as Euphronios, and he also made several. Again, parallels exist between his drawing style and that of the piece in question. Among noteworthy differences, however, are the rendering of ribs and shoulder blade,³² of vine branches,³³ and of drapery. In the Tarquinia and Louvre amphorae,³⁴ as well as in the London hydria,³⁵ Phintias reveals stylized, sometimes almost mechanical, himation folds. Euthymides, another contemporary, provides no closer correspondences. The shoulder panel on the Faina kalpis³⁶ illustrates differences in the drawing of the satyr bodies, the vines, and the kantharos. The magnificent fluting satyr now in Warsaw³⁷ and the symposiasts in Munich³⁸ show a clarity and selectiveness in anatomical rendering not yet attained in the satyr on the cup. Euthymides handled drapery much as one sees it on Dionysos, and yet he seems not to have exploited equally the possibilities of dilute glaze.

The work here considered is an unexpected addition to the oeuvre of Euphronios. Its ramifications for our understanding of early red-figure painting are several. The question arises why Euphronios, a red-figure artist, chose to work in outline with black-figure upon a white ground.³⁹ He seems to have valued effects of color and tonal gradation. On the cup in Munich and on a fragment in Leningrad⁴⁰ he used coral red for the

²⁹ Boston 10.211, Villa Giulia, and Florence ARV² 325,82; London E44 ARV² 318,2; Louvre G105 ARV² 324,60.

³⁰ Louvre G287 ARV² 321,24.

³¹ Louvre G105.

³² Athens 1628 (CC 1157) ARV² 25,1 middle.

³³ Tarquinia RC 6843 ARV² 23,2.

³⁴ Louvre G42 ARV² 23,1.

³⁵ London E159 ARV² 24,9.

³⁶ Faina 68 ARV² 28,16.

³⁷ Warsaw 142332 ARV² 27,8.

³⁸ Munich 2307 ARV² 26,1.

³⁹ Mr. Frel pointed out to me possible evidence that Euphronios worked in black-figure. Peters associated with him one fragment of a Panathenaic amphora: Akropolis 931 ABV 403, middle.

⁴⁰ Munich 2620 and Leningrad Ol.18181 (ARV² 17,20).



PLATE I. Interior of the Bareiss cup (Metropolitan Museum of Art L 1971.61).
Photograph: Metropolitan Museum of Art (William Lyall).



PLATE II. Detail, Dionysos (enlarged c. 1.6 times).



PLATE III. Detail, satyr (enlarged c. 1.6 times).



PLATE IVa. Exterior of fragment with satyr.



PLATE IVb. Exterior of fragment with Dionysos.

zone around the tondo. He may have experimented with white slip of his own accord or possibly following the example of a white-ground plate.⁴¹ Euphronios' understanding of the expressive possibilities in his medium appears most clearly in the Louvre Antaios krater. The contest between Herakles and Antaios traditionally required the artist to differentiate the athletic and well-groomed hero from the unkempt giant. Euphronios achieved the force of his characterization through the effects of glaze which supplement the drawing. In the cup, his use of the medium again seems significantly to influence the "meaning" of the scene. The painter must have felt this in choosing to juxtapose black-figure with outline and in heightening the effect with a white ground. He gives Dionysos a graceful and somewhat insubstantial appearance with the flesh tones reserved and the garments in various shades of golden brown. Through the silhouette he makes the satyr seem weighty and earthbound. Euphronios thus achieves a masterful contrast between light and dark, line and mass, drapery and flesh and, in a sense, between the god and his attendant.

The new cup appears fully resolved in conception and execution. What, then, is its place among the earliest extant white-ground cups by red-figure artists?⁴² As mentioned previously, the first larger group of material occurs with Onesimos. However, two further pieces of evidence exist. The first is the well-known, but now much-damaged, cup in Gotha.⁴³ Beazley discerned in it the influence of "artists like Euphronios and the Sosias Painter" but he did not attribute it to a known late archaic hand. The symposiasts on the outside do, indeed, recall those of Euphronios.⁴⁴ The tondo inside closely resembles the exterior of the Peithinos cup in Berlin.⁴⁵ It is dangerous to speculate on the Gotha

⁴¹ E.g. Psaux, Basel inv. 421 *ABV* 294,21.

⁴² A white ground occasionally appears on black-figure cups, e.g. Louvre C 10330 *ABV* 210,4 below; San Simeon, Hearst 9890 *ABV* 236,7; Louvre C 10380 *ABV* 630,1 middle; Louvre F120 *ABV* 630,1 below; N.Y. 12.234.4 *ABV* 630,2 below. The second cup, signed by Pamphaios, is now N.Y., Jan Mitchell on loan to the Metropolitan Museum; the alien foot has been removed and replaced by one designed jointly by Mr. von Bothmer and H. Bloesch (cf. *Para.* 102 and 109).

⁴³ *ARV*² 20, top.

⁴⁴ Leningrad 644 and Munich 8935.

⁴⁵ Berlin 2279 *ARV*² 115,2. Already observed by E. Rohde, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Gotha I* (1964) 54. Beazley also related the Gotha cup to Athens, Agora P7901 *ARV*² 20, top. This cup, though very incomplete, shares two details with the Gotha piece, i.e. widely spaced dots on the sponge and a U-shaped line for the ankle bone. In the courting scene of the Gotha tondo, the juxtaposition of two faces on a diagonal is noteworthy. Beazley, in *Some Attic*

piece without having seen the original; however, the *CVA* plates suggest a breadth and languor in the exterior figures as against the intensity and precision in the rendering of the youths. While a versatile artist like Euphronios might have drawn both scenes, the collaboration of two painters seems a possibility here. Compared to the new cup, the one in Gotha reflects not a coherent design but rather a combination of different conventions. Except for the lip offset within and the red-figure handles, the shape harks back to the mid-sixth-century band cup. The drawing resembles black-figure in the relief-dot hair, the absence of relief line, and in the traces of added red and white for the wreaths and dog, respectively. The two cups are close in time and more or less close to Euphronios; however, the figural decoration of the new cup has been thoroughly adapted to a red-figure shape and style.

The second piece of evidence is a cup fragment from the Athenian Akropolis.⁴⁶ It is slipped on both sides and has a black line at the rim. The interior preserves nothing more than the rho and omikron of an inscription. The exterior shows vine branches as well as the back of the head and the shoulder of a Dionysos. Noteworthy here is not only the exquisite execution but also the elaborate polychromy: a white ivy wreath, a grape cluster of relief dots with added red, and golden-brown branches, leaves, and tendrils. Beazley described the drawing as "not remote from Onesimos." Certain details, however, seem already to have counterparts in the oeuvre of Phintias. The Louvre and Tarquinia amphorae⁴⁷ illustrate the heart-shaped ivy leaves set in pairs on either side of a wavy line; they also show accessories added in red. Direct parallels between the Akropolis sherd and the Tarquinia vase include the presence of Dionysos among vines, the star-like crinkles where his chiton sleeve is buttoned, the grapes with relief dots, and the filaments that curl out from the vine branches. Furthermore, the fragment demonstrates the minute, almost precious, detail so characteristic of Phintias' hand. Once again, the indications point in an unexpected direction. Phintias is credited with four cups as painter, and he signed one as

Vases in the Cyprus Museum (London 1948) 27-29, mentions several occurrences of the feature, but this one may be the earliest. The Bothmer cup (*Para.* 360,93ter) presents an interesting variation in view of Onesimos' predilection for frontal faces; one side shows a youth with face upturned towards a man looking out. On I, the down on the cheek of the youth farthest to right has an uncommon circular form that recurs on the boy in Gotha.

⁴⁶ Athens, Akropolis 441 *ARV*² 333, bottom.

⁴⁷ Louvre G42, Tarquinia RC 6843 *ARV*² 23,1 and 2.

potter,⁴⁸ but none has a white slip. As against the new kylix, the Akropolis sherd seems somewhat closer to black-figure through its extensive detail, its polychromy, and the absence of relief line.⁴⁹ It might seem "earlier," also, than the Gotha cup, but this observation obviously involves two pieces of unsatisfactorily preserved evidence.

What conclusions might now be drawn concerning the new kylix and other early white-ground examples by red-figure artists? This cup, the Gotha cup, and the Akropolis fragment probably antedate the white-ground works of Onesimos. The second and third pieces seem, each in its own way, to be ambitious undertakings that draw appreciably on black-figure conventions. The first piece is a successful tour-de-force by a red-figure painter. If our attribution to Euphronios holds, then it might have been he who achieved a successful combination of white-ground and red-figure for kylikes. He could have transmitted the innovation to Onesimos who, at the time, painted for him. Onesimos may not have been equal to Euphronios' solution or he may have sought alternatives, since his white-ground cups often show a plain white band around a red-figure tondo. However, from Onesimos through the Splanchnopt Painter, the white-ground cup constituted a specialty that interested a few artists, notably the Brygos, Sotades, Sabouroff, and Pistoxenos Painters. It ceased around the mid-fifth century, and, unlike the white lekythos, the white-ground cup never declined in quality since it was never mass-produced.

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⁴⁸ Bloesch associates a total of four cups with Phintias, all small Type B. Bloesch 61.

⁴⁹ In *ARV*², Beazley offers two possible restorations of the inscription. When he wrote, the only early parallel for a cup white-ground and inscribed within was Florence PD 265 (*ARV*² 322,29) painted by Onesimos. The cup published here is uninscribed; however, it pushes back in time the appearance of cups white-ground within (the Gotha cup belongs to a somewhat different category, being white-ground outside). Thus, the inscription on Akropolis 441 allows a third possible restoration: Leagros kalos. Leagros is celebrated on vases by Euphronios and Euthymides, but on none, as yet, by Phintias.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

BARBARA TURZYNSKI DRUSHELL — *Studies in Amphora Handles:
Rhodian, of the Benaki Collection*

THROUGHOUT the course of about forty years, Lucas Benaki collected ca. 42,500 Rhodian amphora handles. Most were found in Alexandria, his place of residence; some few are from Canopus, the Fayoum, and the Western Desert. In 1962 Mr. Benaki gave his collection to the Musée Gréco-Romain in Alexandria. It was a scholarly collection: notes were made of the provenience, and a good deal of sorting was done by Mr. Benaki himself. The time was opportune for classifying the whole lot alphabetically, according to the first letter of the name stamped on each handle. I undertook the task and was able to carry it to completion in May 1967. My work on it is the basis of the present dissertation.

The amphoras in question, familiar now from the number pulled up by divers from wrecks, were the bulk containers of antiquity for liquids. Cylindrical, tall (usually about 0.80 m.), and holding ca. 32 litres, they had two high handles, thick and solid enough to be rarely broken. On the shoulder of each Rhodian handle was a stamp containing a name. The name on one handle was that of the "fabricant" of the amphora; the name on the other belonged to the eponymous official of Rhodes, whom inscriptions show to have been the priest of Helios, during the year when the jar was made. The eponym handle thus dated the jar, while the fabricant handle told who was responsible for the workmanship on it.

The Benaki Collection, now available, almost doubles the number of stamped amphora handles known. But the total known long since was large enough so that their value for the history of commerce — its volume in different periods, routes, destinations — and also for dating the strata in which they were found was apparent. M. P. Nilsson, M. Rostovtzeff, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, C. Schuchhardt, F. Bleckmann, and E. Pridik devoted valuable studies to amphora handles. It is one of the achievements of the Agora Excavations in Athens that all the data

have been gathered into one place, and that during the past four decades the study has been actively pursued. Throughout this period, Virginia R. Grace has been the head of the staff engaged in this work, and has made the subject her own. My own activities in Alexandria were carried on under the direction of Miss Grace.

Any dissertation in a field so special ought, it seems to me, both to help make knowledge of the specialty more exact, and also to enlarge its usefulness for wider studies. I have attempted to do this. My treatment of the handles falls under two general headings: archaeological and historical. From an archaeological point of view, the names on the handles belonging to the so-called fabricants are examined. The possibility that these men were at times actually the owners of amphora-making establishments is considered, and from the likelihood that they were the answer to another question is deduced. For the problem of whether a name on the eponym's handle, and the same name on the fabricant's handle, could belong to one and the same individual is no longer troublesome. In a large number of cases one name was found on both types of handles from the same period, and it used to be wondered how a simple jar-maker could ever achieve the highest priesthood of the Rhodian state, thereby becoming eponymous. If he were not a mere artisan, but rather an entrepreneur of some status, the problem no longer exists.

That the fabricant was on occasion really the owner of the amphora factory throws light on yet another phenomenon. I found that sometimes two or more names of "fabricants" appeared to have been inscribed by the same individual, who evidently (I have argued) was a stamp-maker; distinct from a jar-maker, he was an artisan who manufactured stamps for different owners of workshops where amphoras were made. The owner was not a fabricant himself and thus could not make his own stamps.

Along with the two types of names mentioned above, those of eponyms and those of fabricants, figured devices also appeared on many of the stamps. Designs of torches, stars, clusters of grapes, etc., were evidently potters' marks, and the frequency of these devices on the Benaki handles is discussed. Particular interest is devoted to the figures of the rose and Helios-head, and their significance as possible state seals, implying some kind of government control over whatever bore them, is considered.

Another chapter describes the small secondary stamps which occasionally appeared on the handles together with the major stamps. These small seals, never before written about, were usually only big enough

to contain one letter. Whether they, as well as the use of the rose and/or Helios-head device, signified state inspection is a question which I have attempted to answer.

In the historical section of the present study the seven chronological periods into which Miss Grace has divided the handles are examined, and the quality of the workmanship during each of these periods is described. (Each handle has been assigned to its appropriate period according to its shape and other characteristics, and according to the context in which it was found.) After a brief survey of the economic conditions in Rhodes and Alexandria in the Hellenistic period, the relationship between these conditions and the number of handles from each period, as well as the workmanship on the handles, is traced.

The final part of the thesis deals with the dates which Miss Grace and others before her have assigned to the periods of the handles. By comparing the names of eponyms on the handles with the same names of eponyms found in inscriptions, I discovered that in some cases the date assigned to the inscriptions varied from the date given to the amphora handles. Other evidence, published by different archaeologists working on very different material, also indicated that the traditional dates of some of the periods must be altered. In my last chapter I propose new dates which take all of this evidence into account. Accuracy in this matter is of course very important, for, as mentioned above, amphora handles are useful for dating excavation strata and for indicating commercial relationships in the Hellenistic world.

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Degree in Classical Philology 1971

JUDITH P. HALLETT — *Book IV: Propertius' Recusatio to Augustus and Augustan Ideals*

In his fourth and final book of elegies, Propertius makes what many consider a radical departure from the style and subject matter of his earlier poetry. Cynthia, omnipresent in the *Monobiblos*, highly visible in books II and III, is mentioned by name in only two of the book's eleven elegies. Six of book IV's poems attest to the poet's new interest in aetiology, a poetic concern largely begun and advanced by the Alexandrian writer Callimachus. The amatory elegies in book IV, moreover, evince an increased objectivity and detachment on Propertius' part about the phenomena and psychology of love. Most important of all, throughout the book the figure of Rome — in aetiological elegies about her holy shrines, festivals, and topography; in love elegies about her inhabitants, past and present — holds center stage.

The foregoing facts, however, are meaningless if left uninterpreted. We must somehow account for these artistic innovations — and can most easily do so by assuming that Propertius, in book IV, is consciously trying to please Augustus and pay tribute to his recent achievements. The key role played by Rome speaks for itself on behalf of this hypothesis. Propertius' model Callimachus, moreover, had openly acclaimed his royal patrons and their families. In addition, Propertius' liaison with Cynthia had always been a stumbling block to his assumption of civic responsibility (cf. II.i and vii); one may view not only Cynthia's poetic and physical demise in book IV but also the prominent position allotted therein to the figure of a Roman matron who could not be more dissimilar to Cynthia as proof of Propertius' new "Augustan" values regarding women.

Only one argument must be countered by those who maintain that Propertius intended book IV to be a *laudatio* of Augustus and the ideals of the Augustan regime and at the same time a farewell to love elegy in favor of other pursuits. Why did Propertius begin book IV with what is technically called a *recusatio*, a poem in which an astrologer of advertised reliability warns Propertius against undertaking the grand, prophetic manner of writing and reminds him that his destiny in life consists of servitude to his mistress's whims and to the Muse of amatory elegy? It is the contention of this thesis that IV.iB should be taken at face value, on the assumption that in it Propertius seriously criticizes his own ability to write anything other than love elegy. From a close study of each elegy's content and the interrelationships between individual elegies, two facts become clear: that all eight of the "Roman" poems (i, ii, iii, iv, vi, ix; x, xi) in book IV — not only iB — were meant as a *recusatio*, a large-scale refusal to write Augustan court poetry, and that therefore book IV should be interpreted as a reaffirmation of Propertius' commitment to love elegy and the values concomitant with. Chapter I: IV.i — Propertius' Grand *Recusatio*

In IV.i, his final poem, Propertius states for the last time that he is artistically incapable of writing Augustan court poetry and furthermore lacks sympathy with the emperor's policies and ideals. A close study of iA reveals that it contains a considerable amount of hostility to Rome and its prevalent materialistic and militaristic values, expressed through the poet's selection of factual detail and vocabulary; the astrologer Horos' words in iB also condemn greed and warfare, thereby downgrading current Roman policies even further. Lines 37–54, in which Propertius displays his naïve wonderment at the fact that Rome's foundation and growth are a fulfillment of earlier prophecy and thereby

his admiration for prophecy in general, function as an experiment in prophecy in their attempt to relate predictions of Rome's eventual grandeur to their realization. Furthermore, 55-70 explicitly state Propertius' wish to tell about Rome's past so as to express admiration for her present and even try to predict her future greatness. Yet the former passage is confusing in its presentation, proving Propertius' inability to compose in the grand, prophetic manner best characterized by *Aeneid* VI.756-853. Horos' speech in iB, moreover, attacks incompetent prophets and ascribes their unreliability to desires for self-aggrandizement, desires which by their very nature rule out concern for the truth.

Furthermore, in IV.i the poet for the very first time both defines the nature of his poetic limitations and motivates his personal statements against the Augustan regime by providing the reader with autobiographical information which justifies his position. Lines 119-150, Horos' rendition of Propertius' horoscope, not only function as a model of an honest, accurate and well-constructed prophecy; they also include facts explaining why materialism, uncritical patriotism and, above all, the ability to foresee the future are anathema to Propertius' nature. He has been deprived of both his father and ancestral property in Umbria (as a result of Roman, in fact peculiarly Augustan, military policies); his youthful poverty and suffering have caused him to forego a traditional Roman career either in military service or at the bar in favor of devoting himself and those energies usually invested in military activities to amatory elegy and his mistress; love — and thus love elegy — are by their very definition transitory and uncertain, at odds with secure knowledge of the future. Horos' final sentence obliquely warns Propertius that attempts to compose court poetry might be disastrous for him, as he might not be able to return to the field of amatory elegy or, even worse, might incur official wrath if his efforts reveal insincerity or lack of talent.

Chapter II: The Aetiological Poems

The even-numbered poems in book IV can be grouped under the same heading on a purely formal consideration: all are proclaimed aetiological elegies in the Callimachean tradition, a tradition with which the poet firmly aligns himself in the closing lines of iA. Each is introduced by a personally-phrased "statement of intent" which denotes the existence of a factual gap to be filled; such introductions signal that the following poem will provide a didactic explanation of one main fact and thus will have a relatively circumscribed focus. Each follows the Callimachean practice of relating the origins and enumerating the

salient features of historically important practices and places (although, in accordance with Horos' advice in iB, Propertius avoids predicting the future in his own person in any of them). Each, furthermore, deals with Roman sites and events, recalling Propertius' self-proclamation as "Roman" Callimachus in iA.

Yet even though the aetiological elegies are Roman in the topics they treat, they are far from pro-Roman in their message. Poem ii has as its subject Vertumnus, an Etruscan borrowing — acquired when the Etruscans brought military aid to the newly-founded city of Rome — now mistreated, despite its antiquity and its value as a reflection of the activities of peacetime. Poem x, structural counterpart of ii, deals with the cult of Jupiter Feretrius. Yet the topic is an odd one, since Augustus' refusal of the *spolia opima* to Crassus in 29/8 B.C. virtually killed the long-standing tradition associated with Jupiter Feretrius by making the honor inaccessible to anyone but the emperor. Furthermore, it calls attention to the brutality of war and the loss of old Roman frugality. In vi, the poet discredits Augustus in the moment of his greatest triumph by attributing his victory at Actium solely to Apollo's intercession and then shrinking from celebrating the battle himself. Elegy iv expresses sympathy for the renowned traitress Tarpeia and blames her tragic behavior on Vesta's intervention, Romulus' negligence, and her own "Roman" tendency to measure her worth in terms of "connections" rather than personal qualities. In contrast to the other aetiological elegies, viii reaffirms what Propertius has found meaningful in his personal life rather than criticize what he finds objectionable about Rome. Nevertheless, he initially suggests that an old Roman ritual and the current prestige of money, whenever and however acquired, once separated him from his mistress Cynthia; here Propertius also relies heavily on the imagery and language of Roman warfare, religion, and law to praise his passionate relationship with Cynthia.

Chapter III: The Amatory Elegies

All five of the odd-numbered poems in book IV deal with subjects of an amatory nature. For purposes of discussion, they may be divided into two categories. The first of these groups consists of elegies iii and ix, which complement each other structurally and contentually. Elegy iii focuses on the plight of the newly-wed woman, abandoned by her lover, the *nupta relicta*; ix describes the equally frustrating experience of her male counterpart, the *exclusus amator*. Both poems are "Roman" in setting and *personae*, even though ix takes place in primitive times, iii Augustan. Both are humorous in treatment, but for opposite reasons: we laugh at Arethusa in iii because she overexaggerates her "feminine"

helplessness, at Hercules because he overestimates the power of his "masculine" strength. Yet both severely criticize Augustan attitudes and values. Elegy iii disparages war, in particular Augustus' expansionary wars in the decade following Actium, and its consequences by continually blaming it both for Arethusa's separation from her husband and her emotional reaction to their estrangement. Elegy ix underlines the shortcomings inherent in a commonly held, though exceedingly limited, definition of heroic manhood; physical brutality does not guarantee Hercules success in handling women. It also ridicules a figure of great importance in Augustan legend, one with whom the emperor was associated and frequently identified.

The second group of elegies, v, vii, and xi, all contain the words of a woman dead at the time Propertius was writing; he has specially emphasized the themes of these poems by giving the elegies themselves key locations in book IV and by devoting more space, proportionately and physically, to these speeches by deceased women in each successive elegy. Not surprisingly, these three elegies concerned with death also relate to the most important event in the poet's life, his personal experience with Cynthia. Elegy vii does so directly, by narrating how she appeared in his dreams shortly after her burial; v and xi more indirectly, by depicting women whose attitudes toward love, material acquisitions and the rewards they entail, and life itself drastically contrast with hers. As opposed to the procuress Acanthis in v and the noble matron Cornelia in xi, Cynthia is honest, accurate in her self-appraisal, realistic in her perception of the future, simple in her wants, deep in her feelings, strong in her love. Propertius has written vii for the same reason he has written book IV and, for that matter, all of his poetry: in order to enshrine their relationship. In so doing, he recommends both his values and the life style and rewards accruing from them to others.

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Degree in Classical Philology 1971

W. E. HIGGINS — *The Concept and Role of the Individual in Xenophon*

The thesis aims at a synthesis and a rehabilitation. To this end all the works of Xenophon are considered, except the *Kynegetikos*, whose authenticity has rightfully been doubted, and the *Peri Hippikes* and the *Hipparchikos*, because the present author has unfortunately yet to develop that equestrian interest Xenophon so often entertained.

Given the diversity of Xenophon's literary career, it is amazing how few critics have attempted to assess his writings as a whole. Those who

have generally have written within the framework of various misconceptions (for example, Xenophon's alleged Laconism) or employed critical methods which are *a priori* unsound (for example, the biographical fallacy). Far too many agree that Xenophon is a second-rate author who cannot hold his own with Plato and Thucydides. Jaeger put as well as anyone the received opinion which the present work attempts to combat: "But he was not a poet: he was a practical man. The sympathy he felt for Sparta because of his early career as a soldier must have been increased by his political outlook as a squire and a farmer."

To facilitate its argument and to investigate at the same time a theme recognized by all as important, though treated of by none with emphasis, the thesis examines Xenophon's ideas about the individual and discovers in them at least one unifying element underlying all his varied works. Beginning with a discussion of Xenophon's exile, it maintains the correctness of arguments recently put forth that he was exiled in 399 not for Laconism but ostensibly for campaigning with Cyrus and actually for alleged oligarchic activities. He was caught up in the incriminations and trials which followed upon the Peloponnesian War and to which Socrates, amongst others, also fell victim. Xenophon did not Laconize; he "Agesilaosized" — the two are not the same. He was interested in a man, not a state or a military spirit. A discussion of the encomium which bears Agesilaos' name shows it to be a succinct statement of the qualities and characteristics of the Xenophontic hero. He is a composite of a self-controlled, self-confident, and righteous yet shrewd individual who is at the same time devoted not to himself but to others. Hence, Xenophon's concern with the Spartan king's family and his obedience to his *polis*, and, above all, his fatherly relation with his men. The necessity for action is stressed, as the embodiment and realization of virtue. This union was achieved in Agesilaos and is achieved in the formal structure of the encomium itself, which is not a random cataloguing of discrete *res gestae* and *virtutes* but a carefully and logically structured series whose components lead inevitably into and out of one another. Finally, the retrospective quality of the encomium is pointed up, thus bringing into focus the final sadness which pervades almost all of Xenophon's works: the great individual passes, only a memory is left. Actions, however noble, are not immutable. In developing the biographical form Xenophon is witness to his age: both in search of a controlling center who would restore Greece in the fourth century to stability and order.

The discussion of the *Anabasis* once again highlights the stress on reasoned action and the need for commitment by the individual to the

group. Recent views of the work as a document of the mechanism of a miniature *polis* are incorporated into a larger view of it (suggested by Xenophon's own citations of Homer) as a fourth-century *Odyssey*, a moral journey up through adversity to a goal reached by ingenuity and struggle. Like Odysseus, only Xenophon returns home, his men, like Odysseus', having lost their homecoming because of their folly, in their case, the assertion of selfish aims at the expense of the common good. Having mistaken the sea as its goal, the democratic *polis* of the retreating army degenerates once the coast is reached into the tyranny of self-interests. The Xenophonic melancholy is again apparent and is increased by the sense of his own impending exile, suggested in the later books, from the city whose qualities of innovation and freedom he so nobly exemplified. Though Xenophon as Socratic Athenian is clearly set off against the Spartans Klearchos and Cheirisophos and the pupil of the sophists Proxenos, the approach to the *Anabasis* which sought in it some sort of *Tendenz*, either personal or political, is discounted as too narrow, and the view that it is not unified in concept or time of composition was not thought to merit mention let alone consideration.

The discussion of the Sokratika centers on the *Memorabilia* whose unity of structure and thought is argued for. A type of mimetic literature and not meant to be true in an historical sense, it presents an imitation of a legal defense of Socrates at the same time as it gives expression to its author's own philosophic ideas. The virtues of the good individual are presented in the first book which is a quasi-encomium of Socrates, while the second and third books show Socrates not in himself but in relation to others. The dialogue with Aristippos is seen as a summary and introduction to the movement of the two central books, in that, like them, it maintains the need of the individual to live in society as well as society's need for good members. The progression, individual mastery to societal mastery, is central; only in the meshing of the two is either benefited. The individual needs society as much as he needs to rule it. Once again the family is crucial, as the basis of all other groups, and Xenophon's stress on it and heterosexual love is highlighted through brief comments on the *Oikonomikos* and the *Symposium*, and contrasts with Plato are touched upon. The necessity for the individual to have friends follows as a natural corollary, with the third book bringing to a culmination the extension of group relations in its discussion of the requirements of the command of an army or a city. Its final chapters reassert the need for the individual to have developed himself in his own right at the same time as he seeks a civic responsibility. The naturalness, to Xenophon's mind, of his poetic

progression is described and the interrelationships between individual, family, friends, and army or polis are used as a means of discussing the prime importance of the logical mode of analogy in Xenophon's thought. In its light his comparison of a good general to a father is seen as more than mere metaphor. Xenophon's argument is also reflected in the structure of his work which, having begun with the individual Socrates and gone on to the societal Socrates, returns in the fourth book to the individual Socrates once more. The final defense is, ironically, the Socratic method itself, displayed in the educative encounters between Socrates and the young know-it-all Euthydemus. The principal maxim of the Socratic method, self-knowledge, is finally seen as the ultimate source of Xenophon's concept of, and interest in, the individual. Socrates, like Agesilaos, is presented as a *paradeigma*, an object for imitation, but he too passes, the victim of folly and injustice. The tragic limitations of discourse are discussed and the impact on his religious and philosophic beliefs of the triumph of injustice as experienced by Xenophon in his own person on the Anabasis expedition and in the fate of his teacher is made paramount. To this mind, so passionate for order, a final confusion always presented itself and could not be escaped. Socrates, the great man, was gone; only a memory was left, but from it was born the literary imitation of the *Memorabilia* meant to prompt, through memory, a moral and philosophic norm of action.

The *Cyropaideia* is a transferal to a more political realm of the themes of the *Memorabilia*. Cyrus is seen as a convenience: a figure who had obtained a mythic status and who was as well the ruler of the largest government known to Xenophon's time. And how government succeeded is what Xenophon wished to discover, for in his own time none seemed to. It is therefore argued that there is nothing really Persian in the work — it is Greek through and through — and that it is a form of mimesis, an imaginative piece of non-factual literature. History has become a story. The themes of the family and commitment to friends are again examined, as is the idea that all of life is a schooling, not just childhood and adolescence. Attention is also paid to the emphasis Xenophon places on maintaining the value of the specific within the context of the general. Finally, however, the *Cyropaideia* is thought not to be primarily a political tract recommending monarchy or even an educational treatise. Study of its scope and style reveal it to be an attempt at an epic in prose, and Cyrus appears as an authentic hero, the last such in Greek literature. The work is thus decisively set off from Plato's *Republic* to which it has been seen to be a reply. Plato wrote a dialogue about an ideal polity, for his king was a philosopher; Xenophon,

whose Cyrus resembles Socrates but is not yet a philosopher, wrote a novel about a man whose actions, no matter how great, are not permanent. The confusion of government at the beginning of the work returns triumphant at its end; reality once again resists perfection. The ideal world of enduring and immutable forms is totally foreign.

Brief discussions of the *Hiero* and the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* attempt to show how each treats of the situation which arises when one of the two forces in the tension, developed in the *Cyropaideia* and the *Memorabilia*, between individual and society overextends itself. The *Hiero's* treatment of tyranny examines the over-extension of the individual and shows how, paradoxically, self-assertion becomes a self-contradiction. Hiero's perfervid criticism is taken to be accurate though, ironically, insincere, while Simonides' description of the good ruler is seen to be more hope than reality, like Cyrus a poetic ideal. The *Constitution*, conversely, examines the effect of the over-extension of the group and, far from being a praise of the Spartan system, is, as Strauss has brilliantly suggested, an ironic indictment of it. It may, in fact, be a reply to a work of the same name by the oligarch Kritias whose enthusiasm for Sparta was unbounded and for whom Xenophon, as the *Hellenika* shows, had little use. The Spartan insistence on suppression of individual differences, the repressive legislation and life style, the absence of norms of justice in educational practice, and the frustrations of its monarchy all portray the enslavement of the Spartan way. The ephors, who were meant to protect the group from tyrannical kings, had the real power, and Xenophon, interestingly enough calls them tyrants. The overassertion of the group is no less a tyranny than the overassertion of an individual. The essay's concluding hexameter is a pathetic tribute to a heroism that never was because it never could have been.

The final chapter of the thesis deals with the *Hellenika*. Arguments for its unity in time of composition are accepted and enlarged upon, while arguments for its more important unity of conception, with special reference to its Thucydidean inheritance, are set forth by means of a running narrative commentary. The account is seen to be built upon a series of peripeties which, in Thucydidean manner, demonstrate how political and military expectations failed to be realized, as evidenced chiefly in the rise and fall of Sparta, which both Xenophon and Thucydides knew to be incapable of empire. Through the study of Sparta Xenophon is also able to examine Greece in the fourth century, especially the pathology of tyranny. The central problem is the lack of morally great men, for those who have any merit in the *Hellenika* are

inevitably found wanting, including Jason who, like Alkibiades, had all the virtues but was still immoral; for he was committed only to himself. Only Epaminondas had the aura of true heroism, but his death at Mantinea provokes the final assertion of the unexpected and ineluctable: only confusion remained. While criticisms of the method of the *Hellenika* have been frequent, it is hoped that an appreciation of its themes will explain its famous omissions and inclusions, while recent attempts to view the work as some sort of historical novel are thought to be misguided. The *Hellenika* is preeminently a history and not a form of *mimesis* precisely because it is an unrelenting examination of the way things are: in the end there was no norm to be imitated. Xenophon's connection with Thucydides and historiography also offers further illumination of his position in the intellectual world of his time. The apparent lack of interest in, or knowledge of, Thucydides in Plato and Aristotle reveals again Xenophon's remove from the world of the Academy and his unique position, recognized by Diogenes, as the first of the philosophers to write history.

Xenophon's final testament, however, is the *Poroi*. It is argued that Xenophon wrote it in Athens and its demonstration of the individual at the service of the city is a summation of all that he had written. Like the good general of his mind, he would provide for his city in this tract of peace whose first word is *ego* and whose last is *polei*.

While the retrospective character of Xenophon's works is prominent and pervasive, he was an innovator who looked to the future as well. Perhaps his most lasting accomplishment was the development of the simple style. Yet it is this which has, by its very simplicity and utter clarity, beguiled most critics into thinking Xenophon a *simplicite* and lightweight thinker. But a closer reading and an appreciation of variations of tone will reveal not only an author of grace but of subtle irony and keen perception. If the thesis at least succeeds in presenting Xenophon as an artist of calibre and a thinker who demands study (Plato at any rate found him worth replying to), it will not have been in vain.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1971

ANN N. MICHELINI — Rhesis and Dialogue; *Evidence in the Persians for the Form of Early Tragedy*

The thesis centers around certain metrical and dramaturgical anomalies in the *Persians* of Aeschylus and attempts to relate them to what is known about the literary history of early tragedy.

In the introduction, the critical debacle over the dating of the *Suppliants* is analyzed, in an attempt to achieve a more balanced perspective on literary development. The play was thought to be extremely primitive and archaic, until the discovery of a fragment of a didaskalia (Pap. Ox. 2256, 3) suggested a probable date in the later 460's. The stylistic qualities of the *Suppliants* had been associated with an archaic date by critics who ignored the fact that archaizing forms can be importations from other genres or revivals of older techniques, as Kranz's analysis of late Euripidean style had made clear (*Stasimon*, 1933). Critics who looked to a prominent chorus as a sign of the archaic play overlooked the evidence that suggests a double form — actor in trimeter and chorus in lyric — as a very early feature of tragedy.

In seeking evidence about early stages of drama, it is better to study factors less likely to be under the conscious control of the artist, i.e. patterns for which the dramatic form of a particular play is not a sufficient explanation. Zielinski (*Tragoedumena* I) showed that certain elements of form, which have become superfluous once the traditional structure on which they were based has disappeared, may still be retained, or incorporated into the new structure.

Three apparent instances of remnants of traditional form in the *Persians* are analyzed in the second chapter: 1) In both two-actor scenes, the entering actor addresses a rhesis to the chorus, engages them in an epirrhema, and then turns, as a sort of second choice, to the second actor. In each case, an attempt is made to motivate this false start on psychological grounds, showing that the artist was aware of some awkwardness in his observance of this pattern. 2) At the end of the play, the Queen leaves the stage rather abruptly, just before the entrance of Xerxes. The elaborate care taken to motivate her exit indicates, it is argued, that Aeschylus felt it to be something of a dramaturgical weakness. 3) The appearance of the trochaic tetrameter as an important constituent of the non-lyric scenes confirms Aristotle's plain statement that the trochaic tetrameter was prominent in early tragedy, before it was forced out by the iambic trimeter.

The first two dramaturgical instances cited are to be explained by the early form of tragedy in which one actor confronted a large chorus. Even though the second actor was apparently his own innovation, Aeschylus retained many elements of the one-actor form and was slow to utilize the second actor's potential for dramatic conflict.

The trochaic tetrameter is used for dialogue and stichomythy in the *Persians*, while the trimeter dialogues in the play are uniquely loose in construction, and function only as transitions between rheses. The

presence of dialogue in the trochaic makes the rhesis, with its extended opening, stand out like a formal set piece. The trochaic may have been the original meter of dialogue. The chorus seems to use it with more ease than it did the trimeter, which may have been confined to the long rhesis of the actor.

In the third chapter, the metrical and dramaturgical division between actor and chorus is proposed as the source of the static form of tragedy, to which dramatic conflict is originally alien. The actor is often a messenger or a servant, as much of an outsider as the chorus are. The famous silent and veiled protagonists (e.g. in the lost *Phrygians* and *Niobe*) make visible the cloudy presence of the heroic figure around which the drama turns, as it does in the little vignette of Bacchylides (Snell 18), where Theseus' deeds are related by his unknowing father to a chorus of Athenians. The actor and chorus, then, have essentially *the same* relation to the great event and the heroic protagonist, but they approach from different angles.

The rhesis, like the lyric ode and even the stichomythy, is not designed to facilitate dramatic interaction. Its great length and formal structure reduce the other persons in the drama to the status of a passive audience. The references in Aeschylus to extension (τέλειν or ἐκτέλειν) as a feature of the rhesis show how the formal qualities of the long speech could strain dramatic continuity.

All other appearances of the tetrameter in tragedy are analyzed in the fourth chapter. The tetrameter in the *Persians* has been confused with that in two later plays, where it forms a rare exception to regular practice, and with that in late Euripides, where it revives a disused form. In the period from 472-416, the tetrameter appears in a few passages where it functions in a way not possible for the iambic. It substitutes for the anapaestic close, when the ending lines of a play are to be delivered by an actor (*Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Agamemnon*); and it is used to underline the fact that actor and chorus speak serially, without directly addressing their lines to each other (*Agamemnon* 1344-1347; cf. *Rhesus* 727-736, and the *Isthmiastai*, 18-21 — Lloyd-Jones). The revival trochaics in Euripides do not preserve the separate function of the meter, as found in the *Persians*, but employ the more lively and musical tetrameter for stylistic contrast.

In the fifth chapter, the metrical form of comedy is compared to that of tragedy. The comic chorus has a variety of meters equivalent to, but varying from the trochaic tetrameter; and, in the scenes in which these meters appear, the chorus tends to be actively involved in the play. The trimeter scenes of comedy appear, as Zielinski saw (*Gliederung der*

altattischen Comoedie, 1885), to be a later addition, accruing before and after the more formal and static scenes of the epirrhematic syzygy. The early presenece of the trimeter in tragedy eontributed to the earlier rigidity of tragic metrical forms.

In the sixth chapter, the four component meters of the *Persians* are analyzed, both as they appear in the play, and as they had developed in other poetic contexts. By the time of Solon, the tetrameter still retains the old quality of the *ἰαμβοί* — mimetic, humorous, and moralistic — while the trimeter begins to show the tendency to form an extended and closely argued long piece, distinguished by much opposition and a lack of emotive coloring. Analysis of a short trimeter rthesis, and a tetrameter speech of equal length in the *Persians* shows the rigid and balanced structure of the rthesis, and the loose, accretive organization of the tetrameter passage.

The two meters described above, the trimeter and the tetrameter, are both Ionic line-verse meters — in contrast to the anapaestic period and the lyric strophe. As the tetrameter builds a bridge between the trimeter and the lyric of actor and chorus, so does the anapaestic introduction of the chorus leader tie the lyric ode to the on-stage events, while its periodic form eases the transition from line-verse to lyric. The simplicity of the lyrical meters in the *Persians* is well-suited to balance the other meters, without overshadowing them. In the later development of the drama, the trimeter scene increased in vigor, and the lyric in complexity, as the transitional function of the tetrameter and the anapaestic meters was gradually abandoned.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1971

ROLLY J. PHILLIPS — *The Sources and Methods of Polyaeus*

Polyaeus never records the sources he used for his collection of *Strategemata*. The difficult task of identifying his sources therefore requires careful comparison of the text of Polyaeus with passages from other authors who related the same events, and thorough study of Polyaeus' methods of research and composition.

The way in which Polyaeus used Plutarch's *Mulierum Virtutes* and *Vitae* is particularly illuminating. The impression we gain of Polyaeus' technique in this portion of his work (chiefly books VII and VIII) is supported by his treatment of other sources. When excerpting a short passage, Polyaeus usually did not hesitate to reproduce the exact words

of his source; when faced with a longer account, he would paraphrase, often using similar vocabulary. He made a consistent effort to give the name and nationality of the protagonist and to identify the enemy and the location of the encounter. His concern for accuracy, however, did not extend far beyond this; small mistakes and oversimplifications are numerous. Discrepancies between Polyaeus and his source sometimes result from his desire to give each stratagem a striking and successful conclusion — often in gross contradiction to historical fact. Polyaeus had absolutely no interest in the chronology of events he recorded. Chronological order of the sections within a chapter, therefore, will usually indicate derivation from a single source. The fact that some sections are out of order, however, does not necessarily prove that Polyaeus consulted two or more different sources; there is clear evidence that the original order of Polyaeus' notes was sometimes changed in the process of revision.

While it is often difficult to prove direct use of particular authors, we do have enough evidence to gain a basic idea of the types of sources Polyaeus used. He frequently consulted previous collections of stratagems and anecdotes, as the similarity between many chapters of Polyaeus and the *Strategemata* of Frontinus makes abundantly clear. But Polyaeus also relied heavily upon major historical works. He appears to have read some of these rather thoroughly. Ephorus was the main source of book I; excerpts from this author also appear scattered throughout the rest of Polyaeus. Philistus and Timaeus were used for the Sicilian material in book V and elsewhere. Polyaeus' special interest in his native Macedonia led him to devote a great deal of space to Macedonian affairs: Evidence for direct use of Hieronymus is particularly strong; it is likely that Polyaeus also used Theopompus, Phylarchus, and possibly Duris.

Traces of the works of other major historians, notably Herodotus and Thucydides, appear less frequently; these sources were used to supplement material which Polyaeus had already collected. When compiling books VII and VIII, Polyaeus relied heavily upon Plutarch. The *Mulierum Virtutes* furnished short anecdotes well-suited to his own purpose. He used a few Greek biographies, but the Roman *Lives* were especially valuable to him in view of his lack of familiarity with the Latin language. Apart from the anecdotes taken from a few chapters of Suetonius' biographies of Julius Caesar and Augustus, there are no indications of Latin sources for Polyaeus.

GERALD M. QUINN — *The Sacrificial Calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis*

After a brief introduction, new texts are given of the sacrificial calendar (*IG II²* 1358) and of the list of contributors on the reverse of the stone (*AthMitt* 1942. 12-13). Both texts are based on study of the stone itself, of squeezes, and of photographs. Difficulties of reading and restoration are discussed in an epigraphical commentary, which also includes an apparatus based on previous editions. Fifteen photographs permit the reader to control the texts.

The three chapters which follow deal with several aspects of the calendar. The first of these chapters discusses the word *hierosyna*, summarizing the literary and epigraphical evidence for the term, and analyzing in some detail the amounts provided for *hierosyna* in the Marathonian calendar.

The second chapter gives a series of totals for three sacrificial calendars: the Marathonian, that of the *genos* of the Salaminioi, and the one of the deme of Erkhia. For each of these units, totals are given of amounts provided, numbers of animals sacrificed, number of deities, and numbers of festivals. Explanations for the figures are given where necessary. Then follow two charts, one comparing the figures for all the units, the other giving the relative frequency of the types of victims in the different calendars. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the significance of the totals.

The last chapter begins with two lists of divinities mentioned in the calendar. Known deities are listed alphabetically by name or by epithet. Deities whose names are unknown or incomplete are given in a second list arranged according to line number. Then follows a discussion of selected deities. Most of the chapter is devoted to Kourotraphos, since she is the divinity about whom the calendars provide the most new information.

The conclusion discusses the relation between the two columns of the calendar, and between the calendar and the list of contributors.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1971

DUANE W. ROLLER — *An Historical and Topographical Survey of Tanagra in Boiotia*

The name of 'Tanagra has been well known since the late nineteenth century, for at that time large numbers of terracotta figurines were

found in cemeteries near the ruins of the ancient city. The terracottas, which were generally obtained through illicit digging, appeared in the 1870's and have since found their way into the major museums of the world. They captured popular fancy, largely because of their realism, vivid colors, and excellent state of preservation. Because of the popularity and dispersal of these "Tanagra figurines," the city of Tanagra has become famous. Yet this has led to the unfortunate and unrealistic impression that Tanagra has little importance in antiquity other than as a figurine factory.

In view of this, it is ironic that the figurines may have been Attic imports and not Tanagran products. Their association with the ancient city is purely geographic. Although they are major works of art, they are only a portion of Tanagra's importance, whatever their exact relationship to the ancient city may have been. Had they never been produced or found, Tanagra would still have been a major city.

The ancient city of Tanagra is worthy of excavation, but such a project was not feasible because of the length of time involved, both for negotiation with the authorities and the actual excavation. Nevertheless, there is much about the ancient city that can be learned through its history and visible remains.

Over 40 extant ancient authors mentioned Tanagra, and the city has a documented history from approximately 600 B.C. to A.D. 217, although these are minimal dates. There are no Mycenaean or Geometric remains at the site, which indicates that the city was of little importance during those periods. This is confirmed by the failure of Tanagra to play anything more than a minute part in the major epics of heroic Greece. Yet Late Mycenaean remains have been found not far from Tanagra, and it is reasonable to assume that at the very end of the Mycenaean period the first settlers entered the area of Tanagra.

Nevertheless, it was not until the Archaic period that the city became important. Both the historical and archaeological evidence point to the sixth century B.C. as a period of sudden growth and prosperity. In the Classical period the city continued to be of importance. At times she was the predominant city in the Boiotian Federation, especially for a period after 479 B.C., when her neighbor Thebes was at a low point. The first extant buildings date from this period. She continued to prosper and serve as a counterweight to Theban influence throughout the Classical period. During the Peloponnesian War, she played a major role in the Athenian strategy to break up the Boiotian Federation; Athenian failure to implement this policy ultimately was a leading factor in her defeat.

In the early fourth century B.C. Theban ascendancy gave Tanagra little opportunity to assert herself. Yet the city's period of greatest glory came after the destruction of Thebes in 335 B.C. Tanagra, with Theban power gone, became wealthy and prosperous through her control of the richest agricultural area in Central Greece and the sudden availability of Theban markets. Exclusive imports were common. Extensive building programs were undertaken. Many of the citizens became wealthy, and poverty was unknown. This situation lasted for 150 years.

It ended in the second century B.C. with the advent of Roman control. The economic basis of Tanagra's prosperity was no longer available under the Roman form of government. The city declined in importance; its only contribution to Roman policy was an Imperial mint which seems to have lasted only until A.D. 217. After this time the city is unknown historically, although scattered archaeological evidence indicates later habitation.

The modern sheep pasture that was once Tanagra is rich in visible remains. Since there is no modern habitation on the site, unlike many ancient sites in modern Greece, the ruins are easily accessible. There are city walls of four distinct periods, from Late Classical to Late Roman. The most impressive is a circuit of about two miles in circumference, containing 56 visible towers and 4 gates. These walls were probably built just after the King's Peace of 386 B.C. There are a Hellenistic wall period and two Roman or later periods.

There is evidence for a Classical and Hellenistic agora with remains of three stoas and a temple. The outline of a theater is visible, and there are a few blocks of what may have been the gymnasium. Scattered foundations cover the site which may have been Classical houses. There is also evidence for Christian buildings.

The fragmentary pieces of topographical and historical evidence support and complement each other. From them it is possible to obtain a picture of the city's growth and development during antiquity. Furthermore, examination of the city's mythology adds to the picture. Much of the mythology relating to Tanagra is exceedingly localized and is not found elsewhere in extant Greek mythology. Yet their relevance to Tanagran history and culture is clear.

The thesis includes separate sections on the history and topography of Tanagra, although the two aspects are continually interwoven. The historical section includes not only an account of the major Tanagran myths, but a discussion of the European travelers who rediscovered the city in the nineteenth century. In the topographical section, which is

based on personal observation, the visible remains are catalogued and discussed, and analyzed in the light of the historical evidence. Consideration is also given to the relationship of the visible remains to the buildings mentioned in the ancient sources.

In addition, there is an appendix which consists of five earlier descriptions of Tanagra, from Herakleides the Critic (fl. 260–230 B.C.) to James G. Frazer (1854–1941). The thesis also includes a number of personal photographs of the site, and a map of the city, which is believed to be the first drawn in this century and the first ever based on actual measurement.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Archaeology 1971

JACK ST. JOHN — *The u-Perfect in Italic*

The nature of the element *-u/-v-* in Latin perfects of the type *hab-u-ī/flē-v-ī* has always been open to incomplete and unsatisfying interpretations. The present study attempts to account for the data by approaching the problem from two directions: first, by analyzing the role of *-u-* in Indo-European; secondly, by examining the spread of *-u-* in Italic.

In Indo-European the position of *-u-* may be determined according to root-theory (in Beneviste's formulation). *-u-* is associated with two sequences: *TeH-* and *TReH-*. Evidence for the structure *TeH-u* is seen in the equation of Sanskrit *dadháu* = Lithuanian *dēvi* = Hittite *tenun* < *dheH₁-u. Likewise, *TReH-u* is reconstructible in *gneH₃-u, e.g. Sanskrit *jajñáu*, Old English *cnēow*, Latin *gnōvī*. Thus, it appears that originally *-u-* occurred with set roots; Sanskrit best preserves this state of affairs.

In Latin *-u-* has been extended to other root-structures. *TeRH-u* is the result of the generalization of State I forms at the expense of State II forms, i.e. *TReH-u* > *TeRH-u*, e.g. Latin *genuī* < *genH₁-u, cf. Sanskrit *jajāna* (*u*-less). The new *TeR-u* perfects develop when *TeRH-* and *TeR-* merge due to the loss of laryngeals in the former; thus, *moluī* < *melH-u and *coluī* < *k^wel-u are identical in their perfects. The appearance of *-u-* in *TeT-* (*vet-u-ī*) and *TReT-* (*plic-u-ī*) is connected with the fate of the Indo-European *s*-aorist in Latin. The old structure *TeT-s-* (*-cus-s-ī*) and *TReT-s-* (*clep-s-it*) are limited to a very few examples; instead, *TeT-u-* and *TReT-u-* replace them. On the other hand, *TeT-s-* (*vēxi*) and *TeRT-s-* (*serp-s-ī*) are new *s*-aorist formations which become opposed to *TeT-u* and *TReT-u* respectively.

This distribution is masked by the association of *-u-* with the perfect of Conjugation II, where TeRT-u is frequent.

Within Latin, *-ui-/vi-* spreads as a single marker. A comparison between the Early and Classical perfect of *nōscō* makes this clear: *nōstī* > *nō-vi-stī*, *nōmus* > *nō-vi-mus* etc. Since *-ui-/vi-* is found only in the 3rd singular in Early Latin, this leads one to believe that *-u-/vi-* in the third singular in Early Latin, this leads one to believe that *-u-/v-* starts from here. This observation is in agreement with the situation in Armenian where *-w* is found in the 3rd singular medio-passive aorist, e.g. *cnaw* < *gneH₁-u. The *-i-* is to be identified with the *-i-* in the Umbrian *-nki- perfect, since Latin TeRā-vi- is matched by Umbrian TeRā-nki-. *-k-* in Umbrian is the same as that found in Latin *fēcī* < *dheH₁-k-, cf. Greek *ἔθηκα*. Thus, it is necessary to assume for Indo-European that T(R)eH- could have two different root-enlargements: *-u-* in Sanskrit *dadāu* < *deH₃-u; *-k-* in Greek *ἔδωκα* < *deH₃-k-. The corresponding Oscan perfect in *-tt-* (e.g. Latin *probā-vi-t* = Oscan *prūfa-tt-ed*) may indicate the result of a cluster *-ki-; it would therefore be a match for the Umbrian *-nki-. Ultimately, *-i-* is the *hic et nunc* particle which was suffixed to the endings of the Latin perfect: *-H₂o(i), -tH₂o(i), -e(i)/-u(i), -r(i) > *-ī, -tī, -ī(t)/-uī(t), -re*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Linguistics 1971

JOSEPH B. SOLODOW — *The Copulative Particles in Livy*

Using the new *Concordance to Livy* compiled by D. W. Packard, this thesis aims to answer the question: Given three words which can mean "and," when does the Latin writer choose one, when another? All repeated pairs of words are studied, and some usages are examined through a fixed word that accompanies that usage. For instance, usage in adding more general notions is examined through all the examples of *alius* and *ceterus*. Since others have investigated the use of the copulative particles in earlier authors, it is often possible, by adding Livian use to their results, to understand better both the Latin norm, where one exists, and also Livy's relation to the norm.

The etymology of each of the three copulative particles, *et*, *que*, and *ac/atque*, is set out at length. *Que* is the most common of the three (8804 examples in all Livy), followed by *et* (8320) and *ac/atque* (3013). This frequent use of *que* is general in the Latin historians, although *et* predominates in other kinds of writing. *Que* is particularly common in joining nouns, verbs, participles, gerunds, and gerundives, but is

scarce between infinitives and never found in numerals. *Et* is prominent with numerals, prepositional phrases, infinitives, and clauses, and avoided perhaps only with adverbs. *Ac/atque* frequently joins adverbs and adjectives, but rarely joins numerals and whole clauses.

Et, except when used adverbially or in correlation, is almost unmarked in comparison to the other particles. Like most Latin authors, however, Livy almost invariably uses *et* in numerals. Furthermore, *et* is the copulative particle almost always used for joining *praenomina* (e.g. *P. et Ser. Cornelii Lentuli*) and for opening parentheses. Exceptions to these and the following preferences can occasionally be explained.

The position of *que* is somewhat limited. It is never added to a *c* and very rarely to a short *ē*. In the latter point Livy's usage differs sharply from Cicero's. And his persistence in attaching *que* to the preposition instead of to the noun following goes against the usage of Cicero and Varro and produces an archaic color. The situations where *que* is the expected copulative are many. In religious and legal passages, such as prayers, treaties, and laws, and in certain phrases which are religious or legal (*senatus populusque, ductu auspicioque*) *que* is appropriately frequent, for formal archaic Latin preferred *que*. Words that have a natural connection with one another are usually joined by *que*, as in *pedites equitesque, arma signaque, and aurum argentumque*. Almost exclusively *que* serves to unite two opposite notions, which are usually added together to produce a whole. Thus *terra marique* amounts to "everywhere on earth," *di hominesque* to "all intelligent beings." Other examples are *dies noctesque, viri feminaeque, publicus privatusque, cives sociique, and urbs agerque*. *Que* is also the common particle when a more general notion is added (*signa aliaque ornamenta*); when two forms of the same word need to be joined (*mihi collegaeque meo, fuerunt eruntque, armatus ipse armatisque saeptus*); when *multus* is joined with another adjective; and in certain adverbial phrases.

Livy's handling of the two forms *atque* and *ac* is unexceptional. *Ac* is never followed by a vowel; *atque* is most often followed by a vowel or *h*, occasionally (70 times) by a consonant. Explanations are offered for many of these 70. The copulative particles *ac* and *atque* are especially used for adding a climactic word or phrase and for advancing the narrative to a new stage. They are commonly found joining certain pairs of words which are charged with the force of great emotion: *coniuges ac liberi, domus ac penates, Capitolium atque arx, and moenia atque urbs*. They are also used in several adverbial phrases and with words indicating similarity or the like (*pariter, aequae, perinde*). And finally there are many miscellaneous phrases regularly coupled by *ac* or

atque, including *mare ac naves*, *vi atque armis*, *socii ac nomen Latinum*, *socius atque amicus*, *fortis ac strenuus*, *bene ac feliciter*, and *Sicilia ac Sardinia*.

As for longer series of words, Livy shows a clear preference for joining three equal items in the form *A Bque et C*, as in *quadrigis elephantisque et camelis*. This distinctive form is taken over from Sallust's late works. Among the other combinations in a series of three, only *A et B et C* is common, while every possible combination is found at least once. In series of four and more, where possibilities begin to multiply greatly, tendencies at least can be perceived, for instance the tendency to mark in some way the ending of the series. Frequently in Latin a series will have only one conjunction, between the last two members. With *que* this is common in all authors, but with *et* and *ac/atque*, though there are some Ciceronian examples, the few Livian examples ought to be considered suspect.

For correlation *et-et* is used almost exclusively. Twenty-six examples, however, of a correlative *que-et* are found. Sallust seems the first to have used this pairing in prose. Livy also has correlative *que-que*, though he restricts it to relative clauses. And finally there are rare instances of *et-atque*, *et-que*, and *que-atque*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1971

HELEN TESTROET — *Willelmi Malmesburiensis* Poliistor

William of Malmesbury, a monk of the early twelfth century, aspired to be the literary successor of Bede, and his major works, like Bede's, are histories. The *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, one of his earliest productions, relates the history of England from the arrival of the Angles and Saxons through the reign of Henry I. Near the end of his life William supplemented it with the *Historia Novella*, an account of recent events. His *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* treats the early ecclesiastical history of England and includes a long biography of Saint Aldhelm.

His historical works show William to have been well-read in classical Latin literature. Nearly a third of his classical quotations are from the *Aeneid*, *Georgics*, and *Eclogues* of Vergil, but he refers to or quotes from nearly twenty other authors as well. Lucan was one of his favorites, and Juvenal and Terence appear several times each. He also had some knowledge of Cicero, Ovid, Persius, Horace, a translation of Josephus, Pliny the Elder, Seneca the Elder, and the *Apocolocyntosis* attributed to the younger Seneca. He quotes from Caesar and Plautus, both rare in the England of his day. The phrases which he quotes from Petronius

and Suetonius he may have derived from the excerpts of Fulgentius and Heiric of Auxerre respectively.

William's quotations of pagan literature in his histories serve a variety of functions. Sometimes he cites an ancient definition or brings forward an ancient authority in support of a statement. He suggests, for example, that Gloucester may have been named for Claudius, basing his hypothesis on a misconstrued paraphrase of a passage in the *Apocolocyntosis*. Sometimes he likens one of his historical personages to a character from classical literature, or adorns his histories with an apt simile or metaphor borrowed from his classical reading. Aphorisms, too, add sparkle to William's already lively style. But he also selects less sententious quotations which simply happen to say in a most felicitous fashion exactly what he wanted to say, and patches them discreetly into his narrative without visible seam.

The root of William's interest in the Latin classics, as of his scholarly inclinations generally, is surely to be found in the nature of the monastery in which he spent nearly the whole of his life. For Malmesbury was a Latin school even before it was a monastery. One of its first students was Aldhelm, who started the collection of Latin classics upon which William drew and to which he added. Aldhelm almost surely owned a complete Vergilian corpus. The poetry of Ovid, too, is well represented in his extant works, as is that of Lucan and Juvenal. He seems to have known Persius and the plays of Terence as well; his works also contain a few traces of Horace and two quotations from Seneca's *Agamemnon* of unknown source. He appears to have had access to texts of Cicero's *In Verrem* and *In Catilinam*, as well as Solinus and at least the later books of Pliny the Elder.

Some of Aldhelm's manuscripts or apographs of them probably remained at Malmesbury when William became the librarian. William worked hard to produce a varied and valuable library, acquiring many books, some with his own private means. He was also active in transcription: his hand has been recognized in eight extant manuscripts. His activity in the library also included compiling, translating, and epitomizing. Two of his compilations illustrate William's interest in the pagan Latin classics. One is a large collection of Cicero's orations and philosophical works; the other is the *Polyhistor*. When the monastery of Malmesbury was dissolved in 1539, its books were scattered and destroyed. No medieval catalogue remains, so that the works of Aldhelm and William are important evidence for the contents of what was probably one of the fuller and more important library collections in medieval England.

The *Polyhistor* consists of three books of selections from Latin literature interspersed with William's introductions and comments. Book I contains the work of classical Latin authors. The remainder of the work begins with selections from patristic writers and continues with Isidore, Macrobius, Julius Firmicus, and Seneca. There are then more selections from some of the authors already quoted as well as new authors. The division into books is not clearly marked in the manuscripts, so that it remains uncertain whether William himself divided the work into books and, if he did, where the division came.

The *Polyhistor* is addressed to Guthlac, an otherwise unknown monk, who had sought William's advice about which pagan books to read. William begins his preface by mentioning authors who might be useful sources of "precepts of right living," including Seneca and Cicero. He also includes a list of Cicero's works to be avoided. Recognizing that one might be wearied by such a multitude of moral precepts, he presents his *Polyhistor* as a pleasant diversion for the reader. He concludes the preface with an editorial note disclaiming any originality in the *Polyhistor* apart from his work of selection and the abridgement or simplification of some passages from Pliny.

The excerpts begin with a story from *De inventione*. This is followed by stories from *De natura deorum*, anecdotes of dreams and portents from *De divinatione*, and the praise of Lucullus contained in the *Academica*. William then gives systematic and thorough treatment to Pliny's *Naturalis historia*. His selections from Gellius are prefaced with Augustine's account of Gellius and a Stoic philosopher in a storm at sea and two curious stories of unknown source, one of them about King Arthur. William next relates the seven wonders of the world and then proceeds with memorable anecdotes from Vitruvius.

Book II begins with selections from the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian; excerpts from Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine follow. After brief selections from Isidore, Macrobius, and Julius Firmicus, William presents selections from the *Epistulae morales* of Seneca. He is the first person since antiquity to show knowledge of the entire corpus of the letters, which was divided at an early date into two volumes.

From this point the *Polyhistor* becomes less carefully structured; authors appear and reappear in no particular arrangement. Near the end the two manuscripts contain different selections, and they end abruptly at different points.

Little can be said definitively about the manuscripts from which William derived his excerpts. In the case of the Cicero selections, it is impossible even to determine whether he was working from full texts

or from a collection of extracts. The Pliny excerpts are generally presented in their original order, and when he omits a book, William usually acknowledges the omission and explains it in a manner that shows familiarity with the contents. This suggests that he was making his selections from a full text, but his deliberate alteration of the text of his excerpts has obscured their relationship to any extant manuscript. William's quotations from Gellius are derived from the same florilegium followed by John of Salisbury and the author of an anonymous twelfth-century collection in Sion College, London, MS. Arc. L. 40.2/L. 21. William's account of the seven marvels of the world follows an anonymous tract *De septem miraculis mundi ab hominibus factis*. His excerpts from Vitruvius appear to be related to the Vitruvius MS. B. M. Cotton Cleop. D.I or a close relative.

A critical edition of the first book of the *Polyhistor* follows. This is based on the two extant manuscripts, both of the fourteenth century. St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. 97 (C), is carelessly copied in an inelegant *littera anglicana*, a script developed from the English chancery hand of the twelfth century. The other manuscript, B. M. Harley 3969 (H), lacks the first fifteen leaves and so most of book I. It is executed in a neat and compact literary hand which retains much of the angularity and clubbed minims of gothic and admits fewer chancery elements than does C. The edition generally retains the orthography of the manuscripts.

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STEPHEN V. TRACY — *A Letter-Cutter of Classical Athens*

Systematic study of letter-styles on Greek inscriptions began in the early 1930's under the guidance of W. S. Ferguson with the hope of developing a new means for dating Hellenistic Athenian inscriptions. A succession of letter-styles was soon established well enough so that when inscriptions from the excavations in the Athenian Agora began to appear in some numbers, they could be assigned to approximate periods with varying degrees of assurance. S. Dow, who undertook the greatest part of this work, dated many of the fragments in his *Prytaneis* (*Hesperia* Supplement I, Athens 1937) on this basis. At the same time, he noted that it was frequently possible to recognize the same hand on more than one inscription (e.g. *Prytaneis* 92, 107, 109, 116, 129). Working along the same lines, H. T. Wade-Gery (*BSA* 33 1935 122-135) employed the width of flat chisel blade as the principal criterion for identifying the work of a single mason and, from time to time, others have noted that

several inscriptions appear to have been inscribed by the same letterer. The study has not progressed beyond this, and much doubt remains concerning the validity of letter-shapes for purposes of dating (e.g. A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* Cambridge 1959, 62-66). Little or no attention has been given to the problem of identifying individual hands. This dissertation is the first attempt to collect and study all the inscriptions by one mason.

As a prelude to the study, it seemed indispensable to make a statement about method and set forth the criteria employed to determine that two inscriptions were engraved by the same letter-cutter. In the light of previous work on epigraphical hands, the conclusion is reached that a careful consideration of the letter-shapes, i.e. the handwriting, of a given mason must be the primary element in any attempt at identification of individual hands. The method is descriptive, therefore, and need not be subjective so long as it is supported by the rigid control of illustration, principally photography. The criterion for identification must be uniformity of lettering. The most difficult problem is how much uniformity is to be demanded. A detailed examination of lettering on *IG II² 1028* and *IG II² 2336* suggests, by way of illustration, an answer. Many questions come to mind for which only further study can provide answers. The lettering of some periods, for example, may prove to be so plain and uniform as to render the determination of hands a futile game. Forgeries, archaisms, or masons who cut several letter-styles may make the study impractical in certain cases. Despite the undeniable problems, viable progress can be achieved. Hands merit study because they provide a rich, untapped source of information. Any dated letter-cutter will, for example, provide a limited set of dates for the fragments inscribed by him.

The second section of the dissertation presents all the known work of a single letter-cutter, an artisan who worked first on Salamis and then in Athens during the last quarter of the second century before Christ. This collection of twenty-eight inscriptions is the result of painstaking searches of the epigraphical collections in Attica, on Delos, and at Delphi. New or significantly improved texts are offered of *IG II² 1028*, *IG II² 1228*, *IG II² 1341*, *IG II² 1942*, *IG II² 2336*, and *Fouilles de Delphes III 2 no. 48*. In addition, texts of *Agora I 2945*, *Agora I 3810*, *Agora I 3871a* and *b*, *Agora I 5045*, and *EM 5581* are here presented for the first time. An unusually full epigraphical commentary on each inscription is included. Mistakes, especially erasures, receive close attention because they indicate places where the mason encountered difficulties in inscribing.

In the third section, the technical details noted in the previous part are drawn together and an attempt is made to present a reasonably clear picture of the process of inscribing. Many specific topics are treated: *iota adscriptum*, spelling, methods of cutting, letter-shapes and sizes, *vacats*, margins, interspaces, errors, layout, centering, crowns, and rate of work. One appendix is devoted to elucidating the problems of editing erasures and suggesting a change in the conventional sigla employed; another describes the procedure of a modern Athenian letter-cutter.

A few of the results may be stated briefly here. The skill and training required to inscribe the long public documents common in Greek epigraphy were of a much higher order than has usually been thought. Any man able to inscribe a decree was therefore a highly trained letter-cutter such as was needed by the government to inscribe public documents and is likely to have inscribed a number of decrees. Thus, a study of the hand appearing on any given decree is likely to be rewarding in terms of finding other work by the same hand. With regard to lettering, the normal letter-height was 0.006 m.–0.008 m.; letters of a centimeter or more in height always seem to have a special reason for being. The crowns are not the work of a specialist. Contrary to general opinion, the letters were not drawn on the stone prior to cutting. The tradition of ancient Athenian letter-cutting was distinct and unique in comparison with Roman and modern lettering as regards layout, size of lettering, and technique of inscribing.

The companion volume of plates is intended as an integral part of the study. It provides the evidence essential for the convincing assignment of hand through copious, detailed photographs of all the inscriptions. The discussion of many of the erasures, superscriptions, broken letters, dittographies, etc., has been written for a reader who has the visual evidence before him, hence the format of a separate volume for the plates was adopted.

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